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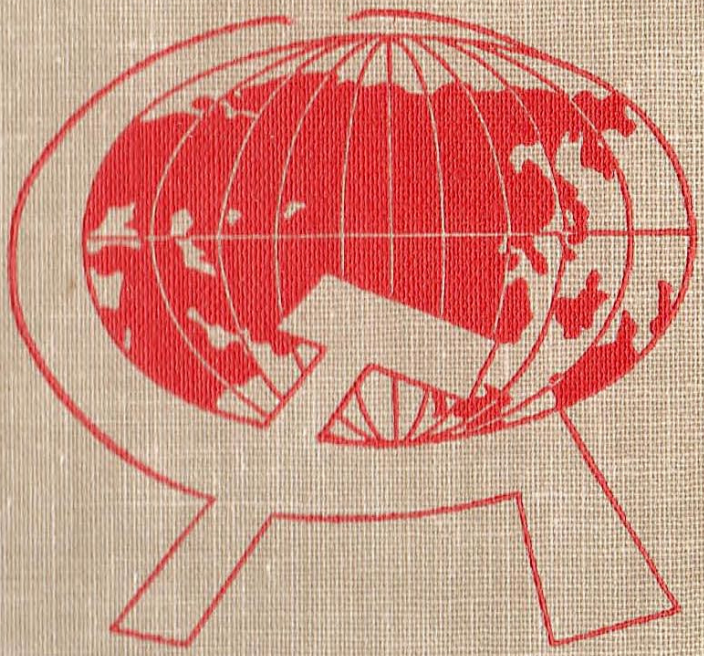

JUNIOR EDITION

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Richard D. Miller

Junior Edition

What You Should Know About COMMUNISM and Why

BY THE EDITORS OF SCHOLASTIC MAGAZINES

Adapted by Matthew Mestrovic, Ph.D., in consultation with leading experts on Soviet affairs, and published in response to demands from educators and librarians, teachers and parents.

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Contents

Introduction 5

1. The Communist System 9
2. Communism's "Big Two" 15
3. Lenin, Russia's First Communist Dictator 22
4. Stalin's Reign of Terror 32
5. Communism Spreads Westward 40
6. Red Flag over China 48
7. Inside Communist China 57
8. The Cold War Begins 66
9. Khrushchev in Command 76
10. How Russians Live Today 87
11. Training the Minds of Youth 96
12. How the Communists Stay in Control 104
13. Communism in the United States 112
14. America's Shield of Freedom 119

A Chronology of Communism 125

Index 126

A soldier of Communist East Germany leaps to freedom by hurdling a barbed-wire fence — part of the wall built across Berlin by Communists.

WIDE WORLD PHOTO

Introduction

How does the threat of communism affect YOU? If the Communists ruled America, what would your life be like? What can YOU do to keep America free from communism?

■ Why is it important for young people to learn all they can about communism?

Communism affects the lives of all of us in many ways.

Have you stopped to think about the money cost of communism to every American family? Ask your father about his taxes. Probably he'll tell you that a large part of his income goes to pay federal income taxes. About a third to half of your family's tax bill is the cost of communism. It is the cost of billions of dollars worth of guns, missiles, ships, and planes to defend our country and our allies. The purpose of all these arms is to keep the Free World strong, in case of a Communist attack. Before long you too will be paying part of this tax against communism.

Americans have other costs to pay. Some of you

may have a brother or a cousin in the Armed Forces. Most boys probably will spend a part of their lives in the Armed Forces. That, too, is part of the cost of defending our nation against communism.

If war should ever come between the Free World and Communist nations, the life of every American would be in danger. In modern war, the people at home would be no safer than the soldiers on the battlefield.

Many world leaders are hopeful of avoiding war. But as long as the Communists keep up their threats against the free nations, we must keep up our defenses and stay calm under constant tension.

We pay a high price to stand firm against communism. But we would have to pay a much higher price if freedom were to lose its struggle against communism.

Life under Communism

Let us see how different your life would be if communism should prevail:

Your Church. Communists would jeer at you if you went to church. They would tell you there is no God, that religion is a fake. Perhaps the Communist government would close your church altogether.

Your School. The ideas of communism would be drilled into you from the first grade up. Your schoolbooks would be full of praise of communism and its leaders. How does communism compare with other systems? You would not get a chance to find out, for libraries would have few if any books from the Free World. Your teachers would tell about crimes and strikes and other troubles in the Free World, but not about the good things of life under freedom. If your teachers thought you had doubts about communism, you would probably have a hard time getting into college.

Your Home. The Communist government would forbid you to listen to radio or TV programs from the Free World.

If you received mail from abroad, you would show it only to trusted friends. If you should happen to meet a foreigner, you probably wouldn't dare invite him to your home. Someone might get suspicious and tell the secret police. People suspected of opposing communism are sometimes whisked away – and often do not return.

Your Career. You might not have much say about your career. If the Communist leaders should decide that they needed an extra supply of engineers or laboratory workers or plumbers, you might be picked for training in one of these jobs and perhaps be sent to some faraway part of the country to work.

What if you opposed communism? You might have a hard time getting any job at all except as a laborer.

Your Government. When you were old enough to vote, you would have no real choice in elections. That's because one party – the Communist Party – would choose all the candidates. They would all be Communists or loyal followers of communism.

In a Communist America, the freedoms that Americans love most would vanish. That is the price to pay if we lose the struggle against communism.

Perhaps you are thinking: "What can I do about all this? I'm just one young person in school. The job of winning this struggle is up to the generals and Senators and other important people in our government."

True, the leaders of our nation must take the lead in freedom's struggle. But every American has a part to play. In just a few years you will be ready to vote, and thus to help govern our country. You count as a person. Your vote will be as important as every other vote. Freedom's best hope is in the youth who will have to carry on the struggle against communism in the years ahead. You can help right now, by taking a more useful part in discussions of world affairs.

Why Learn about Communism?

How will understanding communism help you and our nation?

1. *To avoid overconfidence.* Let's take the case of a football team whose members get overconfident. They're sure they can knock over their rivals without half trying. The players don't practice as hard as they should; they don't play as hard as they should. A supposedly weaker team is going to roll right over them if they don't watch out. It's the same with a nation. If we don't know the facts about the great and growing strength of Soviet Russia and the Communist World, we may find ourselves losing the struggle against communism.

2. *To avoid fear.* Take another football team. It is licked before the game starts because its members have heard so much about the strength of the opposition. The cure for fear, as well as overconfidence, is knowing the *facts.* People on the other side aren't supermen.

3. *To help find ways to win the struggle.* What are the other side's weak points? We need to know them to make our own plans. And if we know the opposition's strong points, we can make better plans to improve our defenses.

4. *To gain courage and determination.* By faith in our freedoms, by knowing our own strength and understanding our rival – communism – we will gain the courage we need to face a troubled future.

This book will give you a start toward that knowledge and understanding. You will find out where the ideas of communism come from, how they have spread, how the Communists gained control of Russia and neighboring nations. You will read what the Free World is doing to meet this challenge. Most important of all, you will learn how *you* can help to preserve freedom against the threat of communism.

The first step is to learn what communism is.

1 The Communist System

Just what is communism?
How does the Communist "dream world" compare with the reality of life under communism?

■ Just what is communism? It is several things, all at once: a belief, a political party, a form of government, a way of producing things, a way of life.

Communism Is a Belief

Men have always yearned for happiness and brotherhood and peace on earth. Communism cruelly makes use of this hope for a better future. Communists paint a rosy picture of the future world under their rule. This future world, they say, is a pleasant place. Everybody has enough to live on and enough of the comforts of life. Nobody wants anything that anyone else has, because everything belongs to all the people. Nobody owns things for himself. There is work to do, but it is happy and pleasant work. Nobody bosses anyone else. All work together for the good of everyone.

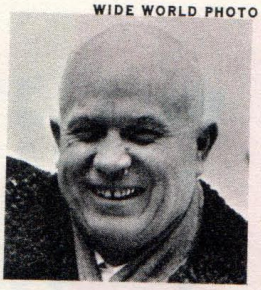
Many people all over the world have been fooled by this promise of a Communist dream world. So far, the dream has not yet come true in any nation under Communist rule. But

HOW THE COMMUNIST PARTY CONTROLS SOVIET RUSSIA'S GOVERNMENT

SECRETARIAT

The First Secretary controls the Party and the government at all levels. He is supposedly chosen by the Presidium. Actually the strongest Communist holds this all-powerful position.

WIDE WORLD PHOTO



Nikita Khrushchev is First Secretary of the Communist Party, also Chairman of the Council of Ministers.

THE COMMUNIST PARTY CONTROLS THE GOVERNMENT

ALL-UNION CONGRESS

Elected by local Communist Party groups. It meets at least once every four years to hear reports from top leaders and approve leaders' choice of the . . .

CENTRAL COMMITTEE*

This has 310 members. They elect a group of the highest Communist Party leaders to serve on the powerful . . .

PRESIDIUM

This is the top ruling group in Soviet Russia. It now has 11 members. It draws up plans for both Party and government, to be put into operation by the . . .

COUNCIL OF MINISTERS

This group is something like the U.S. Cabinet. It includes heads of government departments and also of the chief industries (for Council of Ministers plans Soviet Russia's production). Its orders are really laws. Its chairman is the top official ("premier") of the government. Council laws are sent on to . . .

SUPREME SOVIET

This group corresponds to the U.S. Congress—except that it has no real power. The Supreme Soviet doesn't write new laws; it just unanimously passes laws sent to it by the Council of Ministers. It has two houses, like Congress. The members are elected by a vote of the people. But in Soviet Russia, the Communist Party picks all the candidates.

*Central Committee: Usually it serves as a "rubber stamp" to confirm choice of key officials by the Presidium.

the Communists promise that it will come true at some future time, when communism rules the whole world. And they are sure they will win in the struggle to control the world. Premier Nikita Khrushchev of Soviet Russia told Americans when he visited the United States in 1959: "Your grandchildren will live under communism."

To win the struggle for the world, the true Communist believes that he must obey his leaders without question. If necessary, he will fight and lie and steal and kill. A Communist believes that whatever helps the Communist cause is good.

The true Communist has great faith in communism. He believes in the Communist idea that the whole universe is a sort of automatic machine. In a universe like that, there is no room for God. The Communist does not believe in God, and considers religion a superstition.

Communism Is a Political Party

How do the Communists try to put their beliefs into practice? Through the Communist Party.

In the fall of 1961, leaders of Communist parties from 83 countries held a meeting in Soviet Russia. Most of these countries are non-Communist. In many of them, the Communist Party seems much like the other political parties. It chooses candidates to run for public office. It urges the voters to cast their votes for the Party's candidates.

Opposite page: The people of Soviet Russia vote in elections to name the members of their "Congress" (the Supreme Soviet). But neither the people nor their elected officials run the country; the Communist Party does. No other political party is allowed. Candidates for office—picked by the Party—are either Party members or strong supporters of communism. The governments of Communist nations are modeled after that of Soviet Russia. This chart shows how Soviet Russia's government works. It also shows the close tie between government and Party.

That is the Communist Party which you see "on the surface." But, like an iceberg, the most important part is under the surface – hidden, operating secretly. In secret, the Communist Party plots to overthrow the government. The Party's real aim is to seize control of the country and to rule it – permanently. No more free elections! No more opposition from any other group! No more voice in the government by non-Communists! That's the way it is in all Communist countries.

Communism Is a Form of Government

Let us see what the Communist Party does after it gets control of a country.

The Communists set up a government of their own. This government, like the governments of other countries, delivers the mail, fixes roads, collects taxes, passes laws. But this government is really the Communist Party in another form. The ideas of communism are the ideas of the government. The Communist Party chooses all candidates for important offices. Usually, no other political party is allowed. Elections are held, but the people have no real choice when they go to the polls.

All officeholders are either Communists or their faithful followers. The plans and laws for the country are drawn up by the Communist leaders. These leaders are a very small group at the top of a Communist Party that is a small minority of the people. Only the hardest-working, best disciplined Communists are wanted as Party members. In Soviet Russia, with 218,000,000 people, about 10,000,000 belong to the Communist Party. The Party could get many more members, but it does not want a larger number.

To be allowed to join the Party is a great honor in a Communist country. Communist Party members get the best pay and the most privileges. But they have to work hard to keep these privileges. Those who don't do their Communist

jobs well enough are likely to be "purged" – that is, expelled from the Party.

One of the main jobs of Party members is to try to keep people enthusiastic about communism. Then the Communists can keep the people under control more easily and can keep them working harder.

Communism Is a Way of Producing Things

In a Communist country, *everyone* works for the government. An important idea of communism is that the means of production – such as factories, banks, business, and farms – belong to the people. (This idea the Communists took from earlier Socialist groups, as you'll see in the next chapter.) Actually under communism factories and farms belong to the Communist government, which claims to be ruling in the name of all the people. Much of the government's time is taken up with running the many businesses and industries which it owns. The government plans what each should produce, and how much, and what shall be done with the products.

Communism Is a Way of Life

A Communist government controls much more than the political, agricultural, and industrial activities of a country. It controls the people's lives in many other ways. As you will see in later chapters, Communists limit the freedom, mold the thinking, and run the daily lives of the people they rule.

Many ideas which are a part of communism are thousands of years old. For example, a famous philosopher of ancient Greece, Plato, thought that private ownership should be abolished and that people should own things in common. But the "father" of modern communism was Karl Marx. You'll read about him in the next chapter.

Chapter One STUDY AIDS

Questions to Think About

1. Describe briefly the Communist "dream world" of the future.
2. Give three examples showing the ways in which the Communist Party is different from our two major parties, the Republicans and Democrats.
3. In what ways do elections under communism differ from elections in the United States?

Words and Terms to Understand

purged, means of production, opposition, political party

Check Your Reading

1. About what percentage of the people of Soviet Russia are members of the Communist Party?
2. List some of the ways in which a Communist government is like and unlike our own government.
3. What advantages would you enjoy in Soviet Russia if you were a member of the Communist Party?
4. What are some of the duties of a Communist Party member?
5. By what means does the Communist Party control the government in Soviet Russia?
6. What are some of the ways in which Communists advance their cause?
7. List some of the reasons why Communists believe they will conquer the whole world.

2 Communism's "Big Two"

Why did Karl Marx want a world-wide revolution? Why did the first Communist revolution come in a country where Marx least expected it?

■ Communists often call their system "Marxism-Leninism." Thus they honor the two men who did the most to bring communism into the world. The Communists' number one "idea man" was Karl Marx. The number one "man of action" was a Russian who called himself Lenin.

Marx the Thinker

Karl Marx was born in 1818 at Trier, on the Moselle River in Germany. As a youth, he read a great deal. And the more he read, the more discontented he became with the world around him.

Before long these feelings got him into trouble. As editor of a paper, he wrote articles criticizing the government, and soon the government stopped the paper from being published.

Then Marx, who was about 25, went to Paris, capital of France. In that city were a number of little groups that believed in socialism – the idea that all factories and other means of producing things should belong to the government in the name of the people – not to private owners.

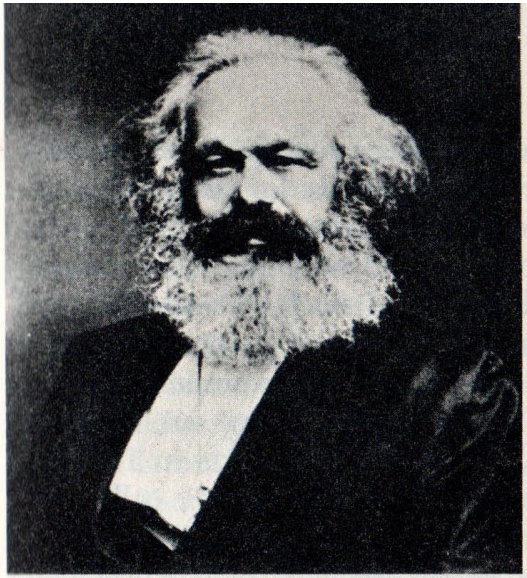
Among these Socialists was a young German named Friedrich Engels (whose father was a wealthy factory owner). Marx and Engels became lifelong friends. Engels helped Marx write his books and paid most of his bills, for Marx seldom earned any money of his own.

In Paris, Marx and Engels joined a tiny secret group of revolutionaries called the Communist League. Some years earlier this group had coined the word "communism." The word was made from the Latin *communis,* which means "belonging to all." Marx liked the word and later often used it as a label for his own special kind of socialism.

In January, 1848, Marx and Engels published their first important statement of their special kind of socialism. They called this statement the *Communist Manifesto.* It called on workers everywhere to rise up in revolt against their governments. "Workers of the world, unite! You have nothing to lose but your chains!" wrote Marx and Engels in the *Communist Manifesto.*

Marx and Engels published this call to revolt just as revolutions were breaking out all over Europe, including Germany. Marx thought his big chance had come. He hurried back to Germany to take part in the revolution. But the government soon crushed the uprising and jailed many of the revolutionaries. Marx was told to get out of Germany.

From then on he lived in London, capital of Great Britain. Every day he went to the reading room of the library of the British Museum. There he wrote Volume I of a famous book, *Das Kapital* – in English, *Capital.* (After Marx died in 1883, Engels used Marx's notes to publish two more volumes.)



SOVFOTO

This photo of Karl Marx was taken in the 1870's.

Here are Marx's main ideas as he explained them in *Capital* and other writings:

• *The "class struggle."* At the time Marx wrote, industry was growing rapidly in England and other countries. The hours of work were long, and pay was very low. Men, women, and even children worked 12 or more hours a day in dark, unsafe mines and unhealthful factories. The working people had no unions, no laws to protect them. Marx said that factory owners – the "capitalist class" – made big profits by paying the workers much less than the value of their work. He believed that industry would grow bigger and bigger, and the owners richer and richer, while the working people would be more and more downtrodden. Finally the "working class" would rise up in revolution.

• *"Abolition of private property."* When the working people had won the revolution, the factories and farms and other means of producing goods would belong to *all* the people, as a group.

• *"From each according to his ability; to each according to his needs."* Under communism, said Marx, everyone would work to the best of his ability. But the things produced would be shared, so that everyone would have enough to live on. No one would get more than he needed.

• *Government would "wither away."* Under communism, everyone would work contentedly for the good of all. Everybody would be peaceful, honest, and helpful to his fellow man. So police forces would no longer be necessary and they would be abolished. And since all nations would be joined together under one Communist government, there would be no more wars between nations. So armies would be abolished and factories would cease turning out weapons.

To spread his ideas, Marx helped organize in 1864 the International Federation of Workingmen, often called the First International. (It broke up in the 1870's.) The aim of this organization was to spread the idea of a world-wide Communist revolution. Marx believed that Communist revolutions would come first in countries with the most factories, such as England, Germany, France, and the United States.

That was one of Marx's many wrong guesses. Communist revolutions never came to Western Europe and the United States. In these countries with large industries, the working people's lives gradually improved and laws brought about better working conditions. Labor unions were formed. They helped workers get higher pay and shorter working hours. The workers gained more and more of the good things produced by capitalism – as we call our system of private ownership of factories, mines, banks, and businesses.

Marx made another wrong guess. He thought one of the *least* likely places for a Communist revolution was the great sprawling farm country of Russia.

Lenin the Doer

Why was Marx wrong about Russia? Mainly because of a Russian who was a boy of 13 when Marx died. This boy, Vladimir Ilyich Ulyanov, grew up at a time when a Tsar (king) ruled Russia. The Tsar's word was law in Russia. He allowed the people very little say in their government.

In the 1880's, secret revolutionary groups were at work

in Russia, aiming to overthrow the Tsar. Vladimir's older brother Alexander was a member of one of the secret groups. In 1887 Alexander was hanged for his part in an unsuccessful plot to murder the Tsar.

Vladimir was 17 at the time. From then on he became a bitter rebel. He was expelled from the university for taking part in student riots. In 1893 Vladimir joined the Russian Social Democratic Party, a secret political group which believed in Marx's ideas.

The Tsar's secret police were watching Vladimir. Soon he was jailed as a revolutionist. After he was freed, he left Russia and continued plotting from various places in Western Europe. From then on he used a false name – Lenin. He kept urging the Russians to revolt against their government.

Lenin believed that Communists should use all means – they should lie, cheat, steal, and even kill when necessary – to attain their goal, the setting up of a Communist dictatorship.

Painting shows Lenin (waving cap) arriving in Russia in April, 1917, after a long exile abroad. Seven months later he seized the government.

SOVFOTO

Many Russian Social Democrats disagreed with Lenin's belief in violence and dictatorship. At a meeting of Party leaders in London, England, in 1903, a bitter quarrel broke out over Lenin's attempt to make himself dictator in the Party. This dispute caused the Party to split into two groups. Those who opposed Lenin were called *Mensheviks* (from the Russian word meaning "minority"). Those who decided to follow Lenin became known as *Bolsheviks* (from the Russian word *bolshinstvo,* meaning "majority"), because they were in the majority at the London meeting.

Lenin convinced his Bolshevik followers that Russia was ripe for a Communist revolution. Their chance came during World War I. At that time there were only about 25,000 Communists in Russia.

During World War I, the Germans defeated the Russian army again and again. The Russian soldiers were discouraged and angry, and mutinies broke out. In Russian cities, hungry people rioted. Workers went on strike and railwaymen refused to operate the trains. Frightened, the Tsar gave up his throne in March, 1917. A provisional (temporary) government took over and tried to carry on the war against Germany. This provisional government proclaimed Russia a republic and made plans to hold free elections. But hopes for democracy were soon dashed by Lenin and his Bolsheviks.

On April 16, 1917, Lenin returned from Switzerland to Russia. He rode across Germany in a closely guarded train provided by the Germans. They knew that Lenin would stir up more trouble in Russia, and thus weaken Russia's fighting power.

In Russia, Lenin gathered his Bolshevik followers, whose number had grown to about 200,000 by the fall of 1917. On November 7 the Bolsheviks overthrew the provisional government headed by Alexander Kerensky. Then Lenin set up a Communist dictatorship. In the next chapter you'll see what happened to Russia under Lenin.

Chapter Two STUDY AIDS

Questions to Think About

1. What were some of Marx's main ideas as he described them in his writings? To what extent did these ideas prove to be correct?
2. According to Marx, why was Russia one of the least likely places for a Communist revolution?
3. What were some of the conditions which made possible the Communist Revolution of 1917?

Words and Terms to Understand

Marxism-Leninism, socialism, communism, *Capital,* tsar, Bolsheviks

Check Your Reading

1. How did Marx change the meaning of the word "communism"?
2. What did Marx mean when he said that the state would "wither away" under communism?
3. Who were the Mensheviks?
4. What was the *Communist Manifesto* about?
5. About how many Bolsheviks were there in Russia in 1917?
6. Why did the Germans help Lenin return to Russia in 1917?
7. What was the aim of the First International which Marx helped set up in 1864?

3

Lenin, Russia's First Communist Dictator

How did a tiny Communist minority get control of giant Russia? What happened to the Russian people after the Communist Revolution?

■ For more than 25 years Lenin plotted against the Russian government. Then suddenly, after an uprising that had lasted only a few hours on the morning of November 7, 1917, he was the most powerful man in Russia. Many workers and soldiers followed Lenin, believing his promise of freedom and justice under communism.

A few weeks before the November Revolution, Lenin had written:

> [We] fight for a more democratic workers' and peasants' republic, in which the police and the standing army will be completely abolished . . . all official persons will be not only elected, but subject to recall at any time upon demand of a majority of the electors.

Workers, he promised, would run the industries. The peasants (farmers) would control the land.

But what Lenin wrote before the November Revolution was the opposite of what he did when he gained power.

Destroying the Provisional Government

Russia's provisional government, under the leadership of Alexander Kerensky, aimed to give the Russian people the right to choose their own government, in addition to other democratic rights. The Bolsheviks smashed Kerensky's provisional government.

Destroying the Power of the Soviets

Early in 1917, workers and soldiers in the chief cities of Russia formed *soviets*, the Russian word for "councils." These councils took over the government of the cities.

The soviets sent representatives to a national meeting (Congress of Soviets) scheduled for the evening of November 7, 1917, in Russia's capital. This is one reason why Lenin carried out his uprising on that day. He knew that the Congress of Soviets would not dare to oppose him after he had seized control of the capital. He was right. Although the Bolsheviks did not have a majority in the Congress of Soviets, it accepted Lenin as leader of Russia.

Lenin kept the soviets – on paper – as the government of the country and its various areas. But all the soviets were run by the Bolshevik Party, which changed its name to Communist Party in 1918.

Lenin moved Russia's Communist government from Petrograd (now Leningrad) to Moscow. In 1922, the Communists renamed the country the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the name it still has.

Destroying the Constituent Assembly

Just after Lenin seized control of the government, an election was held for a Constituent Assembly. This group was to decide on the future government of Russia. Lenin's

BROWN BROTHERS

Left: Russia's last tsar, Nicholas II, is shown with his wife and five children. Nicholas was forced to give up the throne on March 15, 1917, and a provisional government was set up in Petrograd, then Russia's capital. The following year the entire royal family was murdered by the Bolsheviks. *Below:* The Bolsheviks had come to power in November, 1917, after they attacked and seized control of the Winter Palace, seat of the provisional government.

party got only about a quarter of the 36,000,000 votes cast in this election – Russia's last free election. But this disappointing outcome did not stop Lenin. He let the Constituent Assembly meet once, then ordered it closed down.

Destroying Other Parties

Lenin's followers – a very small minority of Russia's people – were even a minority among Russian revolutionists. Some of the other revolutionary parties worked with Lenin's group; others opposed him. One by one, Lenin wiped out the parties that cooperated with him as well as those that opposed him, until only the Communist Party was left. Leaders of one group after another were arrested. Many were killed.

The arrests were the job of Lenin's newly formed secret police, set up only a few weeks after the Bolsheviks seized power. The name of the secret police was the All-Russian Extraordinary Commission. It was usually called the "Cheka," a word formed from the initials of its name in Russian. Its members could not only make arrests but also judge a person's guilt, and put him to death.

Lenin did not keep his promise to abolish either the police or the standing army. Instead, the Russian Communists built up an army of 5,000,000 men. This huge army grew out of Lenin's fight to hold on to his power in the early days when Communist rule was shaky.

In 1918, all over Russia, enemies of the Communists were getting together. They formed armies, led by former officers in the Tsar's forces.

To fight against the "Whites" – as enemies of the Communist government were called – Lenin's second in command, Leon Trotsky, put together the Communist army. It was called the "Red Army" (red is the special color used by Communists as their symbol). Reds fought the Whites in a long and bloody civil war. By the end of 1920, the

Whites were defeated. But the Red Army was not disbanded.

After the 1917 Revolution, many workers thought that the factories belonged to them, as Lenin promised they would. But instead the Communists soon took over the factories as government property. Then another law gave the government power to decide what work persons should do and to punish those who refused. Strikes were prohibited, and those who attempted to set up workers' organizations independent of Communist control were put to death.

Equally important things happened on the farms. In 1917, the peasants had seized the land which had belonged to the Tsar and the nobles. But soon the peasants found that they could not use the land as they wished, for the Communists sent armed soldiers to seize most of the peasants' crops. The result was that the peasants planted fewer crops – just enough to live on themselves. They killed and ate their

SOVFOTO

Lenin speaks to the people in Red Square, in front of the Kremlin in Moscow. This photo was taken in 1919, at the unveiling of a monument honoring a peasant who led a revolt in Russia in 17th century.

farm animals, rather than let the Communists take them.

Hunger spread across Russia. Five million Russians died for lack of food during 1921 and 1922. The United States and other countries sent food and medicines, which saved many lives.

Lenin decided that the only way to get the farmers and others to produce more was to give the people some freedom to buy and sell goods for themselves. So the Communists stopped taking crops and animals from the farmers. Farmers were ordered to pay a heavy tax, but after the tax was paid they could sell whatever they had left. Some small businesses were allowed to start, too.

This New Economic Policy (NEP) began in 1921. It helped get production going again. In foreign countries, some people thought that NEP really meant the end of communism. Instead, it was just a temporary change, to be followed by tougher Communist action a few years later.

The Comintern

In 1919, soon after the Communists came to power in Russia, Lenin set up the Third International with headquarters in Moscow. Its aim was to make Soviet Russia "a link in the federation of Soviet republics of the world."

This Third International was also called the Communist International – "Comintern" for short. It was made up of Communist parties from many countries. To join the Comintern, each Party had to promise to work and plot for revolution in the country where it was located. Each Party not only took orders from the Russian Communists, but promised "to render every possible assistance to the Soviet Republics in their struggle against all counterrevolutionary forces."

With the Comintern's help, Communist parties were organized in the United States, China, and other countries around the world. On orders from the Comintern, the German Communists revolted in December, 1919, but were soon crushed by government soldiers. In Hungary, Communist revolutionaries seized control of the government for a while, but were later defeated by anti-Communist armies.

Lenin had led Communists to victory in Russia. But he had failed in his other big aim–namely to spread communism all over the world. In Lenin's lifetime, Soviet Russia was the only Communist country. But Russian Communists did not give up their dream of a Communist World. Through the Comintern they kept on plotting for world revolution in the years between World War I and World War II.

Joseph Stalin, who made himself dictator of Soviet Russia after Lenin's death, abolished the Comintern during World War II. At that time, Stalin was an ally of the United States and other Free World nations. But secretly, Communist parties throughout the world kept right on plotting on Stalin's orders.

Chapter Three STUDY AIDS

Questions to Think About

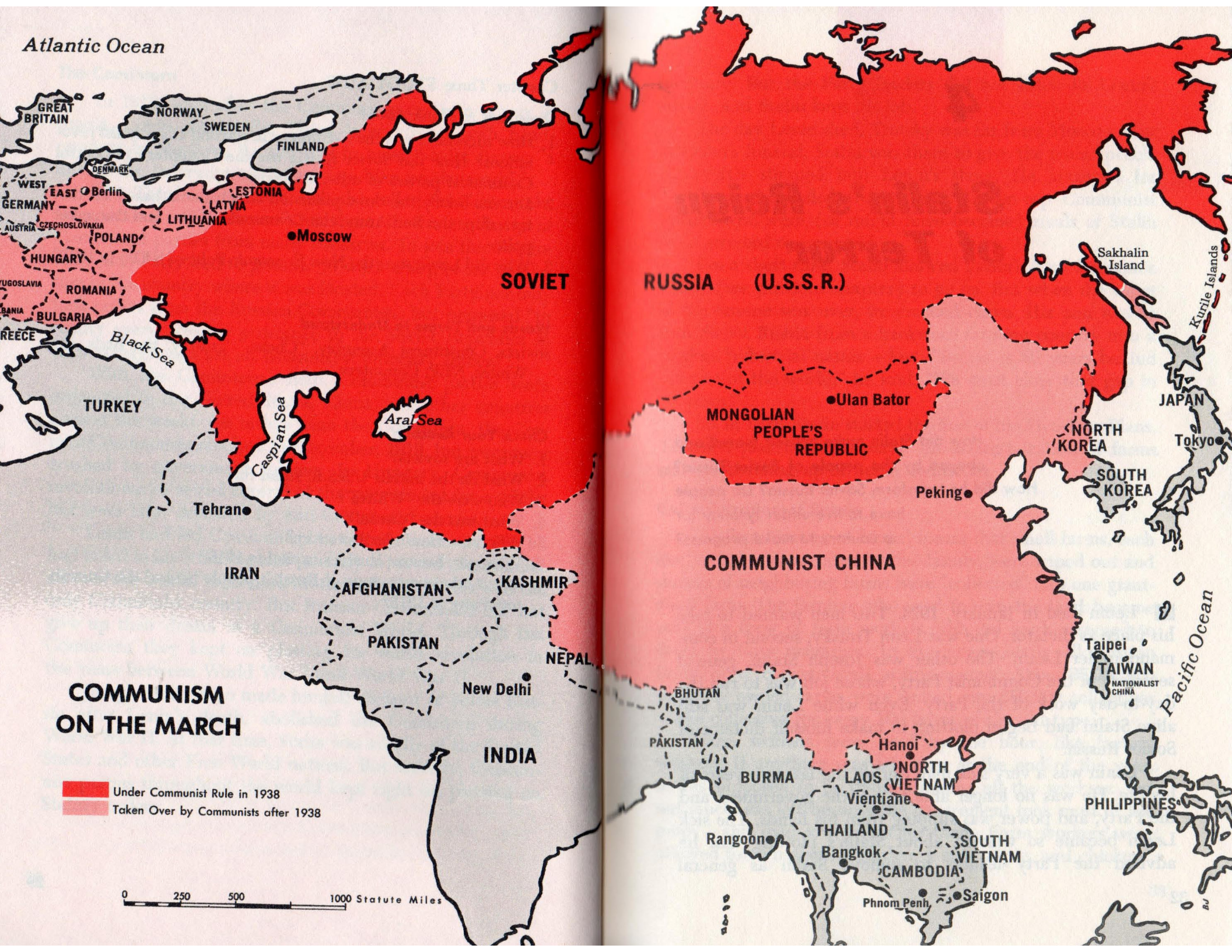
1. How successful was the Comintern in starting Communist revolutions? How did Soviet Russia use the Comintern to control Communist parties of other countries?
2. Discuss briefly the three pillars on which Lenin based his dictatorship: the Red Army, the Communist Party, and the secret police.
3. Why did Lenin start the New Economic Policy (NEP) in 1921?

Words and Terms to Understand

soviets, Constituent Assembly, "Cheka," Trotsky, the Reds, the Whites, NEP, Comintern

Check Your Reading

1. What are soviets?
2. What do the initials U.S.S.R. stand for?
3. Who were the "Whites"?
4. What was the "Cheka"?
5. Who was Alexander Kerensky?
6. What city became Russia's capital in 1918?
7. About what percentage of Russia's people backed the Communist Party in 1918?


Atlantic Ocean
GREAT BRITAIN
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CZECHOSLOVAKIA
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Moscow
HUNGARY
YUGOSLAVIA
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Black Sea
TURKEY
Caspian Sea
Aral Sea
SOVIET RUSSIA (U.S.S.R.)
Tehran
IRAN
AFGHANISTAN
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COMMUNISM ON THE MARCH
Under Communist Rule in 1938
Taken Over by Communists after 1938
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Ulan Bator
MONGOLIAN PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC
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Pacific Ocean
Taipei
TAIWAN
NATIONALIST CHINA
BHUTAN
PAKISTAN
Hanoi
NORTH VIETNAM
BURMA
LAOS
Vientiane
PHILIPPINES
THAILAND
Rangoon
Bangkok
SOUTH VIETNAM
CAMBODIA
Phnom Penh
Saigon

4

Stalin's Reign of Terror

How did Stalin make himself feared and obeyed by the people of Soviet Russia? How did he transform Soviet Russia? Do people have to live under tyranny for a country to make progress?

■ Lenin died in January, 1924. Two men wanted to take his place as dictator. One was Leon Trotsky, second in command under Lenin. The other was Joseph Stalin, general secretary of the Communist Party, whose job was to run the day-to-day work of the Party. Even while Lenin was still alive Stalin had begun plotting to make himself dictator of Soviet Russia.

Lenin was a very sick man during the last two years of his life. He was no longer able to run the government and the Party, and power was slipping from his hands. The sick Lenin became so worried about Stalin's plotting that he advised the Party leaders to remove Stalin as general

secretary. But the Party leaders did not listen to Lenin's advice, and Stalin kept his job.

The day Lenin died, Trotsky was far from Moscow. But at Lenin's funeral, Stalin was there to give the main speech. He swiftly stepped into Lenin's shoes. He arranged for Trotsky to be exiled from Russia. Other top Communist leaders who were (or might have become) rivals of Stalin were arrested or executed.

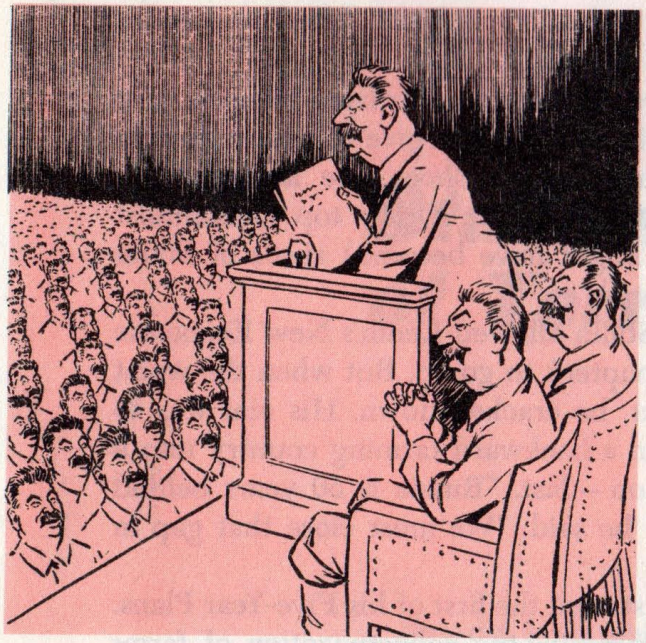
For a short time, Stalin allowed Lenin's New Economic Policy (see previous chapter) to go on. But when the worst of the famine was over, he cracked down. His aim was to turn Soviet Russia from a backward farming country into a modern industrial nation – fast. "Russia is 50 years behind the rest of the world," he said. "We must close that gap in 10 years."

So, in 1928, Stalin started the first of his Five-Year Plans. This first plan had two parts: the collectivization of farms and the building up of heavy industries.

Collectivization of Farms

"Collectivization of farms" meant that small farms, each one owned and operated by one family, were wiped out and dozens of neighboring farms were "collected" into one giant-sized farm. The farmers who used to own the land became part of a crew of farm workers who did work assigned to them by farm managers. In five years nearly all Russian farms were "collectivized" in this manner. About 25,000,000 privately owned farms were united into 250,000 collectives – one collective for every 100 farms of the old type.

Farm workers were paid by the hour, like factory workers. If anything was left over at the end of the year, it was supposed to be divided among all the workers. But not much was left because the government took most of the crops – and paid low prices for them. Farm workers were allowed to own a small garden, a cow, a pig, and chickens.



MARCUS IN THE NEW YORK TIMES

"The Communist Party Congress." This cartoon was drawn when Joseph Stalin was Soviet Russia's dictator. It shows what seems to be a Communist Party meeting, but everybody there looks just like Stalin. This was the cartoonist's way of saying that Stalin ran everything and made all the decisions in Soviet Russia.

Stalin thought his collectivization plan would produce more food than by the old system – enough food for the growing number of workers in Stalin's new factories. But his collectivization plan overlooked one important fact: the old-time Russian farmer was proud of owning his own land. He worked hard as long as he worked for himself, but for someone else he would work only as hard as he was forced to.

What was the result? Under collectivization, farm output at first went down and down. Farmers spent as much time as they could on their own little garden plots, instead of working hard on the collective land. Many farmers slaughtered their horses, cows, pigs, rather than hand them over to collectives. Those who resisted were arrested or killed as enemies of the people. In this way about a million farmers were killed and four million more were shipped away to work as slave laborers in mines and on building projects.

In the late 1930's, farm output finally began to increase.

This was made possible, in part, by the increasing use of machinery and chemical fertilizers. Tractors and other machines for farms were turned out by new industries.

Building Heavy Industries

"Heavy industries" are industries that turn raw materials into products that other industries need, such as iron and steel, chemicals, and machinery. These products are not generally used in the home, but go mostly to industries which make such things as locomotives, trucks, steel bridges, and tractors. Stalin did not provide for much increase in industries that made "consumer goods." These are things that people use in their daily lives – clothing, shoes, radios, pots and pans, soap, furniture.

Communist Party members were put in charge of building up heavy industries. They knew little about industrial production, and they made many mistakes. New workers, fresh from the farms, had little or no job training in industries. So at first nearly everything the factories turned out was poorly made. The steel came out full of cracks and holes. The machines wouldn't work. According to a joke at the time, the busiest factory was the one that printed signs reading "Out of Order."

But production gradually rose as workers and managers began learning their jobs. Some experts came from foreign countries, including the United States, to show the Russians how things should be done. During this time, too, more schools were opened. As millions of people learned to read and write, and gained an education, they were better able to use complicated machines and scientific equipment. One heavy industry was especially busy in the 1930's. This industry turned out things needed for making war: guns, tanks, planes, and other weapons.

"You are surrounded by enemies!" Stalin kept telling the Russian people. At that time Soviet Russia was the only

Communist nation. According to Stalin, other nations were ready to attack Soviet Russia and put an end to communism. So Stalin built up Russia's heavy industries and turned out weapons as fast as he could.

Under Stalin, Russia became a land of industries. In the years from 1928 to 1940, Russia's output of oil increased three times, steel four times, coal five times. These were great achievements. But they were paid for with the lives of millions of human beings.

Stalin the Tyrant

Behind all of this – the Five-Year Plans, denying people their basic needs, arming Russia for war – was Joseph Stalin himself. Stalin was immensely powerful, immensely cruel, totally blind to the suffering of the people. How was Stalin able to stay in power for so many years? He did this in part by keeping his followers always in fear of their lives. No one ever knew where he stood with Stalin. A Stalin favorite one day might be killed by the secret police the next day.

Every so often Stalin "purged" the Communist Party of people he did not like or trust. A "Great Purge" started in 1935 and lasted four years. Hundreds of thousands of Party members, including three fourths of the top leaders, hundreds of generals, and thousands of other officers, were arrested and executed. Some of the victims confessed in public trials to plotting against their country and begged to be put to death.

In 1956, Nikita Khrushchev, the present Communist boss, revealed the truth about Stalin. About those purges in the 1930's Khrushchev said:

> Now when the cases of some of these so-called "spies" and "wreckers" were examined it was found that all their cases were "made up." Confessions of guilt of many arrested and charged with enemy activities were gained with the help of cruel and inhuman torture.

Since then, Khrushchev has told of many other crimes Stalin committed. But while Stalin was alive nobody dared question him, nobody dared challenge his rule.

For the rest of the world, Stalin put on a show of treating the Russian people well. In 1936, he ordered a new constitution for Russia. It was full of guarantees of the people's rights, many of them like the U.S. Constitution's Bill of Rights. Yet, there were no laws on the books to back up these rights, and the secret police kept arresting and executing people as before.

The "Popular Front"

For many years Stalin thought of democratic nations such as the United States, France, and Great Britain as communism's most dangerous enemies. So Stalin had ordered Communist parties everywhere to work against freely elected governments. Then, in 1933, a man named Adolf Hitler destroyed Germany's democratic government and set up a Nazi dictatorship. Hitler said he planned to destroy Russia

Stalin (left) with Rykov, Kamenev, and Zinoviev, three of many Bolshevik leaders who were stripped of their power as Stalin rose to be dictator.

WIDE WORLD PHOTO

and communism. Fearing Nazi Germany's growing power, Stalin became more friendly to democratic nations.

Most European countries had Socialist parties which had taken many of their ideas from Marx. These parties, unlike the Communist Party, wanted to bring about socialism through free elections. The Socialists wanted the government to take over ownership of the most important industries, such as the steel industry, coal mining, the railroads. But most Socialists believed that individuals should be allowed to own their own small businesses and farmers should own their land.

The Communists hated the Socialists bitterly. But in the 1930's Stalin ordered Communists everywhere to work with Socialist groups to keep Nazism from spreading. In France the Communists joined other parties in an alliance called the "Popular Front." This alliance won an election. But soon the Popular Front government fell apart because of quarrels between the Communists and the other groups.

The biggest defeat of the Popular Front idea came in Spain. In that country a government made up of groups friendly to socialism had come into power. This government had the backing of the Spanish Communists. But in 1936, a group of generals led by Francisco Franco revolted against the government. Russia sold weapons and other supplies to the Spanish government. Stalin's agents helped recruit Communists from other countries to fight on the "Loyalist" side (the side of loyalty to the government). But Nazi Germany and its ally Fascist Italy gave help to Franco. With this help, Franco was able to defeat the Loyalists. But by this time Stalin was no longer interested in working against Nazi Germany. He was thinking of making an alliance with Hitler.

Chapter Four STUDY AIDS

Questions to Think About

1. Describe briefly Stalin's industrialization policy. What were its aims? How successful was Stalin in turning Soviet Russia from a land of farms into a nation of industries?
2. What means did Stalin use to make the Russian people fear and obey him?
3. What was the effect of collectivization on Soviet Russia's farm output?
4. Could industrialization and collectivization have been achieved without so much loss of life and liberty?
5. Why did Communists in France and Spain join non-Communists in "Popular Fronts"?

Words and Terms to Understand

collectivization, Five-Year Plan, heavy industry, consumer goods, Popular Front

Check Your Reading

1. What key office did Stalin hold in the Communist Party at the time of Lenin's death?
2. When did Stalin start the first Five-Year Plan?
3. What was the "Great Purge" which started in 1935?
4. What liberties were promised to the people by Soviet Russia's Constitution of 1936?
5. What role did Soviet Russia play in Spain's civil war, 1936-1939?
6. What are some of the main differences between Communists and Socialists?
7. What happened to Trotsky, Stalin's chief rival?

5 Communism Spreads Westward

How did Stalin become the ally of his worst enemy? How did Stalin expand the Russian Empire further than ever before in history?

■ "I should like to drink to the Fuehrer's health," said Joseph Stalin, raising his cup in a toast to Hitler, Nazi Fuehrer (leader) of Germany.

It was late evening of August 23, 1939. Stalin and Hitler's Foreign Minister von Ribbentrop had just signed a "nonaggression pact." According to this pact, Nazi Germany and Communist Russia agreed not to make war on each other. It was also agreed that Germany would let Russia take over Finland, the Baltic states (Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania), eastern Poland, and part of Romania, while Germany would have western Poland and other areas of Europe.

The treaty removed Hitler's fears that Russia might oppose his plans of conquest. On September 1, 1939, Hitler attacked Poland. This started World War II.

Stalin hastened to cash in on his agreement with Hitler. On September 17, Russian troops suddenly invaded Poland from the east. This Russian attack helped Hitler destroy Poland, which had been putting up a brave defense.

Next, Stalin's troops took over the Baltic states and attacked Finland. The Finns put up a good fight, but were eventually forced to hand over parts of southern and eastern Finland to Russia. Stalin then forced Romania to hand over Bessarabia, which had been part of northern Romania.

But Stalin soon found out that his deal with Hitler was a bad one after all. By the summer of 1941, Hitler's armies had overrun much of western and southern Europe. Then suddenly, on June 22, 1941, Hitler attacked Russia.

At first the Germans won easy victories. About three million Russian soldiers surrendered without putting up much of a fight. Many Russians welcomed the Germans as liberators. But Hitler treated the prisoners cruelly, killing

UPI PHOTO

Stalin (right) smiles and pats Germany's Foreign Minister von Ribbentrop on the back at the signing of the Soviet-Nazi pact in 1939. Signing the treaty for Soviet Russia is Foreign Minister Molotov.

some and letting others starve to death. The invading Germans burned down Russian villages and seized food from farmers.

The Russian people saw that Hitler aimed to destroy their country and make slaves of them. So they started fighting harder. And then came the cold Russian winter, with its howling blizzards and temperatures that dropped to 40 degrees below zero. "General Winter" helped the Russians keep on fighting despite terrible losses (about 15,000,000 Russians died as a result of the war). After a while they got powerful help from the United States and its allies, who were fighting the Germans in Africa and western Europe. The United States also helped the Russians by shipping them huge amounts of tanks, trucks, jeeps, guns, and other supplies. So finally the Russians smashed the German invaders. Then Stalin's troops pushed westward across German-occupied countries of Eastern Europe.

Communist "Liberation" of Eastern Europe

What would happen to countries freed from Nazi Germany's control? Many plans for the postwar world were made at meetings of United States and British leaders with Stalin. One of the most important of these meetings was held in 1945 at Yalta, in southern Russia. President Franklin D. Roosevelt was there from the United States and Prime Minister Winston Churchill from Great Britain. At Yalta, Stalin made these promises to the U.S. and British leaders:

- The countries of Eastern Europe should have provisional (temporary) governments "broadly representative of all democratic elements in the population."

- There would be the "earliest possible establishment, through free elections, of governments responsive to the will of the people."

What actually happened was that the Communists took over these countries, one by one.

The pattern was about the same in every case. First, the Russian army marched in to "liberate" the country from the Germans. With the Russians came Moscow-trained Communists who had been born in the country that was being "liberated." The Russians made sure that these Communists had a share in the temporary government that was set up. Then, one by one, the Communists got rid of the groups that opposed them. The Communists got their way partly because Russian occupation troops were there to give help if needed. In all the Eastern European countries, the Communists were a very small minority. They couldn't win a free election, and Stalin knew that. But it did not matter.

How Communists Took Over Hungary

The Communists got control of Eastern European nations by a method that has been called "slicing boloney."

At Yalta Conference, in 1945, Britain's Prime Minister Churchill (left), U.S. President Roosevelt (center), and Stalin planned for postwar world.

WIDE WORLD PHOTO

Let's take Hungary to see how this method worked:

Slice 1. After driving the Germans out of Hungary, the Russians helped set up an "independent front" as a temporary government. Its members were leaders of several political parties, including a few Communists.

An election was held. The Communists got about one sixth of the vote. A political party of farmers and businessmen, the Small Holders Party, won 57 per cent of the votes. You might think that the Communists didn't stand a chance against the powerful Small Holders. But instead the Communists were ready for –

Slice 2. In the new government, set up after the election, the Communists demanded certain key positions. One was the ministry of the interior, which controlled the police. The Small Holders did not dare refuse, for Russian troops were occupying Hungary and were backing the Communists.

Slice 3. The Communists accused 20 members of the Small Holders Party of being "reactionaries." This meant favoring a return to the kind of government Hungary had before the war, when the country was run by nobles, bankers, and factory owners.

"They're only 20 people – let's get rid of them to please the Communists," said many of the leaders of the Small Holder's Party. "Then maybe the Communists will work with us on other things."

So the 20 were expelled from the Small Holders Party. But this led to a whole series of small slices.

Slices 4, 5, 6 . . . : "Abolish the Boy Scouts!" demanded the Communists.

"Abolish the youth groups of the Roman Catholic Church!"

Next the Communists demanded that anti-Communists be removed from the Small Holder's youth organization.

One after another, the Small Holders gave in to these and other demands.

By this time the Communist minister of the interior had put Communists into important positions in the police. The police then claimed to have discovered a plot to overthrow the government. They arrested high army officers and some government officials who were known to oppose communism. Then the Russians arrested the top leader of the Small Holders Party.

About this time the prime minister, also a member of the Small Holders Party, went to Switzerland on vacation. The Communists ordered him to come home to face charges about the so-called plot. Instead, he resigned and went to the United States.

The Small Holders had now been completely sliced up. The Communists then proceeded to slice up the other parties in the same manner. Many of their members were forbidden to vote or hold office on the charge that they had been friendly to the Nazi Germans. Others fled from the country.

By this time the Communists were in full control of the government. In 1949, they held new elections. This time no candidates were allowed except those of the "People's Front" – the Communists and their allies.

Then the Communists wrote a constitution that set up a "people's democracy" – in other words, a government copied after Soviet Russia's.

By similar methods, Communists got control of other eastern European countries. All these countries became known as "Russia's satellites," because their governments took orders from Soviet Russia. Albania, Bulgaria, Poland, Romania, Yugoslavia, East Germany, Hungary, and Czechoslovakia all became Russian satellites in the years right after World War II.

You have seen how Stalin built a Russian satellite empire in Eastern Europe. In the next chapter you'll read how the Communists seized control of China.

Chapter Five STUDY AIDS

Questions to Think About

1. Describe the "slicing boloney" tactics used by the Communists in taking over Hungary's government after World War II.
2. What advantages did Soviet Russia gain from its pact with Hitler's Germany in 1939?
3. What factors made it possible for Soviet Russia to defeat the armies of Nazi Germany in World War II?
4. What could or should the U.S. have done to prevent Soviet Russia from getting control of Eastern Europe? Should we try to liberate these countries from Communist rule?

Words and Terms to Understand

nonaggression pact, Yalta Conference, satellites

Check Your Reading

1. What East European nations became Soviet Russia's satellites after World War II?
2. What leaders met at the Yalta Conference in 1945?
3. When did the Communists win control of Czechoslovakia's government?
4. World War II began with the attack of Hitler's Germany on what nation?
5. What parties made up the "People's Front" in Hungary?
6. What is a "people's democracy"?
7. Why did the Communists want control of the police as an important steppingstone to power in Eastern Europe?

6

Red Flag over China

Could the United States have kept the Communists from taking over China? How did China's dream of unity and freedom end in Communist dictatorship?

■ Could the United States have kept China from going Communist?

That question has been hotly debated for a long time. Some people say that the Communists would have taken over China no matter what the United States did. Others disagree. They argue that the United States didn't give enough help to our ally, Chiang Kai-shek of the Nationalist Party, in his struggle against communism. They say the U.S. government was fooled by Communist propaganda. According to this propaganda, the Chinese Communists were reformers, helping the poor farmers and workers, while the Nationalists were greedy and corrupt.

Communism came to China as a by-product of Lenin's revolution in Russia. Many young Chinese welcomed this

UPI PHOTO

A U.S. reporter (second from left) visited Mao Tse-tung (left) and other Chinese Communists at their hideout in north China in the 1930's.

revolution, for it seemed something like their own. In 1911 Chinese revolutionaries had driven out the Emperor of China and set up a republic.

Lenin, the leader of the Russian Revolution, organized the Comintern to stir up Communist revolutions all over the world, including China. In July, 1921, men from the Comintern brought together a group of Chinese who had been studying communism. Meeting at a girl's school in Shanghai, China's largest city, they set up the Chinese Communist Party. In the group was a young librarian's helper named Mao Tse-tung. He was born in 1890, the son of a well-to-do farmer.

The Chinese Communist Party grew and prospered. Sun Yat-sen, leader of the Nationalist Party which governed the south of China, welcomed the Communists as allies and partners. Meanwhile Soviet Russian officers helped train the Nationalist army. "Leninism is Sun Yat-senism," declared the Nationalist leaders.

Sun Yat-sen died in 1925. The new Nationalist leader,

Chiang Kai-shek, distrusted the Communists. They had 100,000 members, including youth groups. Millions of city workers were Communist followers. Most important of all, Mao and other Communists had begun working in the farming areas. Gradually the Communists won control of regions in which nearly 10,000,000 farmers lived.

In 1927 came the showdown between Chiang and the Communists. Chiang rounded up the Russians and sent them home. He outlawed the Communist Party, seized its weapons, and arrested many of its leaders.

This was the Communists' first big setback. But they were still strong among the farmers of southeast China. There Mao Tse-tung began setting up Chinese soviets – local governments, controlled by Communists, which encouraged the farmers to attack landowners and take away their land.

In the meantime Chiang's army was busy fighting the war lords. These were leaders who had private armies of their own and ruled various parts of China like kings.

By 1930 Chiang had beaten most of the war lords and had united much of China under his own government. He then turned to fight the Communists more strongly than ever before. At first his attacks did not accomplish much. This was partly because, in 1931, Japan had invaded Manchuria, in northern China, and Chiang had sent some of his troops to fight the Japanese invaders.

But in 1933-1934 Chiang launched the "fiery-wall campaign" against the Communists. As he conquered a piece of territory, his men burned or destroyed everything there. Soon the Communists found it hard to get supplies. Mao, who by this time was the number one leader of the Chinese Communists, decided to escape deep into the interior of China. So his army began a 6,000-mile retreat that the Communists call "the long march." With a few thousand soldiers left, Mao finally settled at Yunan, in the north of China.

The Chinese Communists were down but not out. Living in caves hollowed out of hillsides, they rested and began to build up their strength again. Before long, they ruled large parts of northern China.

Then a strange thing happened. A war lord known as the "Young Marshal" kidnaped Chiang. Before Chiang was freed, he had to agree to work together with the Communists in the war against Japan.

This war was growing and spreading. In 1937, the Japanese started an all-out attack aimed at conquering all of China. As partners of Chiang in the war against Japan, the Chinese Communists were no longer hunted outlaws. Instead, they seemed to be patriots fighting off the invaders of their country. Mao's men gained control of more and more territory. Sometimes they fought the Nationalists as well as the Japanese.

The Chinese Communists had received most of their ideas from Soviet Russia. Moscow, Russia's capital, was the

U.S. General George C. Marshall (second from left) visits Chinese Communists in effort to persuade them and Nationalists to work together.

WIDE WORLD PHOTO

center of the Communist World. Thousands of Chinese went to study there. They came back to China as fiery missionaries for communism.

Except for ideas, the Russians did not give the Chinese Communists much help. In fact, during World War II, the Russian dictator Stalin said that he had no great interest in the Chinese Communists. He promised to back Chiang – not Mao – as the leader of China.

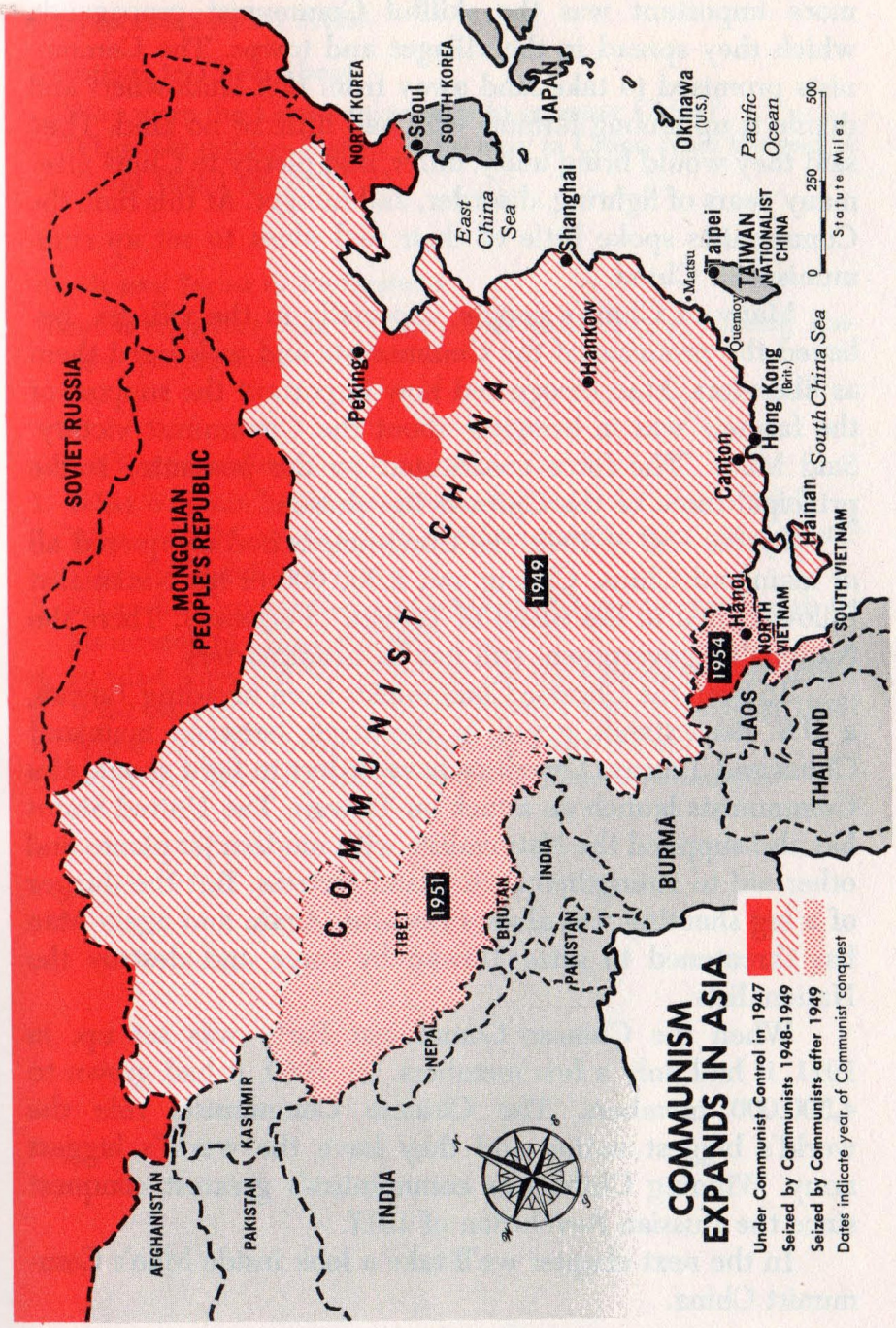
The Russians were still saying the same thing when the war ended. But they managed to help Mao's Communists a great deal all the same. Here's what happened:

In 1945, just before the Japanese surrendered to the United States and its allies, Soviet Russia declared war on Japan. Russian soldiers seized the rich mines and industrial region of Manchuria, in northern China. After taking away the best machinery from the factories, the Russians agreed to leave. But first they gave Mao a helping hand, permitting his men to take over huge quantities of captured Japanese weapons and other supplies. They also allowed the Chinese Communists to get control of much of Manchuria before Chiang's soldiers could get there.

At this time the United States sent General George C. Marshall, one of our top military leaders, to China. His job was to get the Chinese Nationalists and Communists to cooperate peacefully and govern China together. He did not succeed.

Soon heavy fighting broke out between the Nationalists and the Communists. In this struggle the United States gave large amounts of weapons, ammunition, food, medicines, and other supplies to Chiang's Nationalists. At first the Nationalist armies won important victories against the Communists, but in 1948 the tide of war began to turn in favor of the Communists. They gobbled up one region after another.

The successes of the Communists were due partly to the discipline and courage of their soldiers. But perhaps even



more important was the skillful Communist propaganda which they spread in the villages and towns. The Communists promised to take land away from rich landowners and divide it up among farmers who had little or no land. They said they would bring unity, order, and plenty to China after many years of fighting, disorder, and hunger. At this time the Communists spoke little of their real plans to set up communism in China.

Many of China's people, especially in the villages, believed the promises of the Communists and welcomed them as liberators. Mao recognized how important the support of the farmers was in bringing about the Communist victory. Said Mao: "The force constituted by the peasantry is the principal force of the Chinese Revolution."

By the end of 1949, the Communists had conquered all of mainland China. Chiang and 2,000,000 of his Nationalist followers fled to the island of Taiwan (Formosa). There the Nationalist government still has its headquarters.

To keep the Chinese Communists from invading Taiwan, a U.S. fleet stands guard in the strait between mainland China and Taiwan. Our ships have orders to fight should the Communists launch an attack on Taiwan. The United States has also supplied the Nationalists with modern jet planes and other aid to strengthen their island fortress. But the danger of a big shooting war always remains. Again and again Mao has threatened to seize Taiwan by force and destroy the Nationalists.

When the Chinese Communist Party was set up, in 1921, it had only a few members. By 1950, it had grown to 4,500,000 members. The Chinese Communists rule the world's biggest nation and they have the world's biggest army. Winning China was communism's greatest conquest since the Russian Revolution of 1917.

In the next chapter we'll take a look inside Mao's Communist China.

Chapter Six STUDY AIDS

Questions to Think About

1. Why were the Communists able to conquer China?
2. What role did the United States play in China from the end of World War I till 1949?

Words and Terms to Understand

Manchu emperors, Sun Yat-sen, Nationalist Party, Chiang Kai-shek, propaganda

Check Your Reading

1. What was Sun Yat-sen's attitude toward the Communists?
2. Why did Chiang Kai-shek decide to crush the Communists? Why did he fail?
3. What did General George C. Marshall hope to accomplish on his mission to China in 1946?
4. In what ways did Soviet Russia aid the Chinese Communists?
5. What part of China did Soviet Russia's army occupy in 1945?
6. When was the Chinese Communist Party set up?
7. What was "the long march" of the Chinese Communists?

In 1959 Khrushchev (waving hat) visited China as the guest of Mao (left, clapping, and in big photo below). Now the two have become rivals.

BRIAN BRAKE PHOTO FROM MAGNUM

7

Inside Communist China

What is life like in Communist China?
Will the Communist World split?

■ HATE AMERICA.—The Chinese Communists, in their propaganda, have been hammering on that theme steadily ever since they came to power. They repeat the same thing over and over: the United States is China's enemy; Uncle Sam is a "paper tiger" to be slain by communism. They say that the Communist countries must be ready to fight a war against the United States and its allies.

They match their words with warlike deeds. You can see this by looking along the south and east rim of China, where Communist China borders on the Free World:

• Chinese soldiers savagely crushed a revolt in Tibet in 1959. Then they seized thousands of square miles of land along India's border with Tibet.

• In Southeast Asia, armed Communists are trying to get control of Laos and South Vietnam. Many of these Communists are from North Vietnam, where the Chinese helped communism come to power in 1953.

• A shooting war goes on at one place on the edge of China. Almost every day cannons bombard Quemoy and Matsu, two small islands near the coast. Soldiers from Nationalist China hold these islands. The Nationalists have their headquarters on another island, Taiwan, and the Communists say they'll seize Taiwan someday. Why haven't they invaded Taiwan already? Mainly because a U.S. fleet patrols between Taiwan and the mainland, with orders to stop any invasion.

• Chinese Communist soldiers fought against the United States and the United Nations in Korea from 1950 to 1953. A truce stopped the war, but no peace treaty has been written. The Chinese soldiers have gone back to China, but North Korean Communists still face U.N. troops along the truce line.

Because of this warlike record, the United States says the Chinese Communists should not be allowed to join the United Nations. The U.N. Charter says that U.N. members are to be "peace-loving." So far, the United Nations has barred Communist China from membership.

Soldiers of Communism

Communist China still keeps an army of 4,000,000 soldiers. In addition, millions of factory workers and farmers spend part of their time drilling to be "soldiers of communism." The Communist leaders tell them: "Everybody is a soldier! One hand on the hoe, one hand on the rifle."

Mao Tse-tung and the other top Communists have tried to run the whole of China as if it were one big army. These

few top leaders are in control of the government. The 17,000,000 members of the Communist Party carry out the orders of the leaders. These leaders tell the people where to live, what kind of work to do, how much their pay will be. Farmers' land was taken away and joined together into giant farms and new communities called "communes."

In some of these communes, men lived in one group of barracks, women in another. Husbands were separated from their wives. Young children were taken from their parents to live in nurseries or boarding schools. Old people were sent to so-called "happy homes." Everybody ate in big mess halls. As one Communist poster said:

> The machine is my husband,
> The factory is my home,
> The fruits of my labor are my children.
> The [Communist] Party is my father and mother.

The people rose at dawn to the sound of a bugle and had "militia drill" – soldier training – before breakfast. Then everybody marched to work. After a dawn-to-dusk workday, the people had to attend lectures on communism in the evening. Most Chinese, both men and women wore the same baggy blue uniforms.

Since 1960, there has been a big drop in Communist China's food output. The Communists say floods, droughts, and insects badly damaged crops in some of China's most fertile regions, but many experts in non-Communist countries think that this is not the whole story. Overworked, dissatisfied farmers, lacking tools and fertilizer, could not or would not keep up the production. Hunger has spread to thousands of villages. China, which used to sell food abroad, now has to buy huge amounts of grain from other nations. Over the past two years, China's Communist rulers have bought $500,000,000 worth of grain from Canada and Australia.

Photo shows girls in Communist China marching on May Day, an important holiday. In Communist China, work, drills, and lectures about communism take up much of the people's time. EASTFOTO

Communes Are Changing

Apparently the Communists think the commune system itself is partly to blame for the drop in farm output. At any rate, the Communists have been breaking up many of the big communes. Now farmers are put into "production brigades" of two or three dozen people. They are given a plot of land and told to work together to produce all the food they can. Also, farmers may now till a small field in their spare time. They can keep or sell what they raise.

The farmers seem to have a little more freedom than before, but not much. And the land still doesn't belong to them. That is a great change from the old days. Until the Communists came, most Chinese families lived on their own little farms and used the land as they wished.

The Great Leap Backward

Before the Communists took over, China had no industries except in Manchuria and some large cities, such as

Shanghai, Hankow, Canton. Under the Communists, the Chinese have built and repaired many factories, railroads, and power dams. New mines have been opened. People even built little iron-smelting furnaces in their backyards to help increase the country's iron and steel output.

The Communists called this building of industry the "great leap forward." Banners called for 20 YEARS OF PROGRESS IN A SINGLE DAY! The Communists claimed that they had doubled China's output of industrial goods between 1958 and 1960.

Many Western experts doubted the Chinese claims. And the Communist Chinese themselves have admitted that their claims were much exaggerated. For example, the Communists boasted that China produced 11,000,000 tons of steel. Later, however, they admitted that only 8,000,000 tons of this steel were found to be "usable in industry." The rest was of such poor quality that it went to waste. And in the year 1961 the factories of Communist China produced fewer goods

than they turned out during the previous year.

One reason why the output of China's factories dropped is that many workers were just too weak from hunger to do their jobs well.

Allies or Rivals?

The Chinese Communists have brought great changes to China. And they may also bring a great change to the Communist World – perhaps splitting it into two.

Ever since 1917, Moscow, Soviet Russia's capital, has also been the capital of communism. For a long time nearly all Communists the world over took orders from Soviet Russia's leaders. But not Mao Tse-tung and the Chinese Communists! They think of themselves as equal partners of Soviet Russia in the Communist World.

On some points there seems to be bitter disagreement between Soviet Russia and Communist China. One problem is Albania, a tiny Communist nation on the shores of the Mediterranean Sea, in Europe. The leaders of little Albania (population 1,500,000) quarreled openly with Premier Khrushchev of Soviet Russia. Khrushchev stopped sending weapons and other aid to Albania and expelled Albania from the "Warsaw Pact" (the alliance of Russia and her satellite nations of Eastern Europe). But Mao and the Chinese Communists have backed up the Albanians and have sent aid to them.

Also, Communist China insists that the Communists will someday have to fight a war with the Free World. Khrushchev disagrees; he claims that Communists can take over the world without fighting a war.

These disputes have not kept the Chinese Communists from pushing ahead in their efforts to seize more territory in

GAMMA PICTURE AGENCY

Communist China's 720,000,000 people are about one fourth of the world's population. The Chinese are working hard to build dams, canals, factories, roads, and railroads. This photo shows swarms of Sunday workers — volunteers, so the Communists claim — building a huge canal near Peking, China's capital.

MARC RIBOUD—MAGNUM

In Communist China, both men and women workers are dressed alike as they toil in the fields with hand tools. Though the majority of Chinese work on the farms, Communist China is troubled with severe shortages of food.

southeast Asia. In that part of the world there is constant danger that additional nations may be conquered by Communists.

In the next chapter you will see how the Free World stopped the Communist expansion in Europe.

Chapter Seven STUDY AIDS

Questions to Think About

1. Should the United States continue to oppose the admission of Communist China to the United Nations? Give your reasons for or against.
2. How did the Communists control the lives and activities of the people in some communes?
3. Compare Communist China's efforts to develop industries with Soviet Russia's industrialization drive under Stalin.
4. What are some of the things on which Communist China and Soviet Russia disagree? On what matters do they agree?

Words and Terms to Understand

communes, "Great Leap Forward"

Check Your Reading

1. Where is the headquarters of the Chinese Nationalists?
2. What part did Communist China play in the Korean War?
3. About how many members does China's Communist Party have?
4. What are some of the reasons for Communist China's farm troubles in recent years?
5. What have Communist China and India been quarreling about?

8

The Cold War Begins

What kind of war is a Cold War?
How was the spread of communism stopped in Europe?

■ "An iron curtain has descended across the continent" (Europe). So said Winston Churchill, Britain's World War II leader, in 1946. The "iron curtain" Churchill spoke of was a barrier set up by the Communists – a barrier between the people they ruled and the Free World.

The Communists were building a barrier that, in part, was made up of barbed-wire fences, watchtowers, and mine fields. But Churchill was referring to another kind of wall, too. The Communists were trying in many ways to keep people and ideas of the outside world from entering Communist-ruled nations. Books, magazines, and newspapers from the Free World were banned. The Communists kept people under their rule from going abroad, and allowed few foreigners to travel in Communist-ruled nations. Even radio

waves were blocked. When Free World stations broadcast the news in languages of Eastern Europe, the Communists "jammed" the program. They broadcast noise so that people could not hear the news clearly.

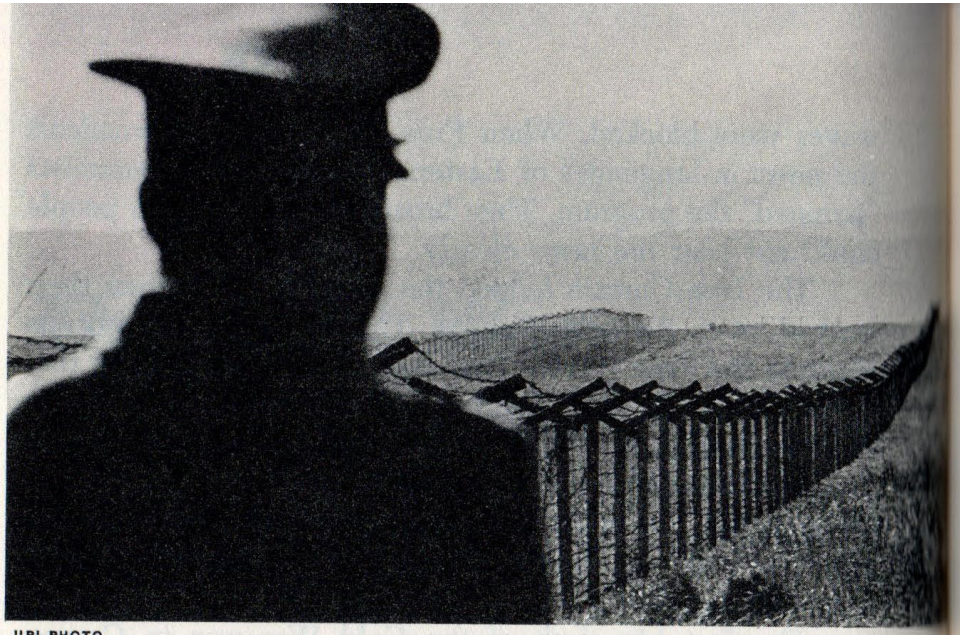
The Iron Curtain helped the Russians strengthen their control over Eastern Europe. These tightening controls alarmed the Free World. Thus began the bitter quarrel that we call the "Cold War." On the one side are the United States and its allies, on the other are Soviet Russia and other Communist nations. It is not a "hot" shooting war, but it is a real struggle just the same. Both sides have been trying to win allies, to build up their defenses, and to outdo each other in producing goods.

The first big clash of the Cold War was in Greece. There, armed Communists were trying to seize control of the government. Powerful rebel forces, fighting the Greek army in the hills, were getting arms and other help from Soviet Russia and other Communist countries.

At the same time – 1946 – Soviet Russia was making threats against Greece's neighbor, Turkey. Through Turkey runs the only waterway from the Black Sea (where the southern ports of Soviet Russia are located) to the Mediterranean Sea. The Russians demanded a share in control of this waterway.

President Harry Truman decided that the time had come to take a strong stand against Soviet Russia's warlike moves. In March, 1947, he announced the "Truman Doctrine" – a plan to keep communism from spreading. The United States promised to help any free nation resist communism and keep its freedom.

The first countries to get help under the Truman Doctrine were Greece and Turkey. Military supplies, food, machinery, and other help flowed in from the United States. This aid strengthened Turkey's army and helped the Turks resist Russian threats. In the meantime the Greek government



UPI PHOTO

An Austrian soldier looks out over the rows of barbed-wire fences which separate his country from Communist Hungary. The fences and hidden mine fields are part of the Iron Curtain which the Communist nations have built.

This map shows pressure points of communism at the end of World War II. Arrow 1 points to Greece where Communist rebels fought the Greek government from 1944 to 1945 and from 1947 to 1948. Arrow 2 points to Dardanelles which Soviet Russia wanted to control. Arrow 3 points to northern Iran which was occupied by Russian soldiers from 1941 to 1946.

succeeded in crushing the Greek Communist rebels.

By this time, the center of the Cold War had shifted to Western Europe. In 1948, there started one of the most dramatic "battles" of the Cold War, when the Russians blocked all the land routes leading from West Germany to West Berlin. To keep the West Berliners from starving and freezing to death, the United States, Great Britain, and France flew huge amounts of fuel, food, and other supplies into the city from West Germany. This "airlift" went on for about a year. Finally Russia's dictator Stalin realized that he would not succeed in starving West Berlin into surrender. So the Russians ended their blockade and supplies moved overland again.

As the Russians strengthened their grip on the satellite countries of Eastern Europe, the Free World's worries increased. Most free nations of Western Europe had suffered great destruction in World War II. Cities lay in ruins; factories were heaps of rubble and twisted steel. Millions of people were without homes or jobs. Many people, dissatisfied and restless, voted for Communist candidates in elections. In France, the Communist Party was the largest party (it got about 5 million votes in the elections). In Italy, the Communists and their allies were also very strong. In both countries the Communists hoped to take control of the government by winning elections.

The Marshall Plan

The United States decided that it was necessary to strengthen and rebuild the nations of Western Europe in order to keep them from falling prey to the Communists.

In 1947 our Secretary of State, General George C. Marshall, proposed a U.S. aid plan. Almost all European nations, including the Communist-ruled ones, were invited to take part. Under this Marshall Plan the nations of Europe were to get together to decide how to rebuild and improve their

industries, farms, and mines. They would agree on the help they needed. Then the United States would try to provide part of the help.

Soviet Russia refused to take part in the Marshall Plan and forbade her satellites to join. This deepened the Cold War split.

In 1948, the United States Congress voted money to get the Marshall Plan started. Over the next four years the U.S. shipped thirteen billion dollars worth of machinery, raw materials, food, and other aid to 17 European nations. Factories were rebuilt. Farms produced more food. As the free nations of Western Europe grew more prosperous, groups opposed to communism grew stronger. The danger that Communists would win control of governments by revolution or in elections lessened all the time. And yet in France and Italy the Communist parties still remained powerful minorities, counting their members in the hundreds of thousands.

The North Atlantic Treaty Organization

United States aid helped Western European nations resist communism inside their borders. But there was another danger from the outside.

Soviet Russia's powerful army stood guard in the satellite countries, and could strike from there against Western Europe. For a while, U.S. atomic bombs were the shield defending Western Europe. At that time the United States was the only nation which had atomic bombs. But in 1949 the Russians succeeded in building atomic bombs of their own. So danger of Russian attack increased, all the more since the armies of the Free World were weak.

To strengthen the Free World's defenses, the United States helped set up the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). This alliance, begun in 1949, includes the United States, Canada, and 13 European nations – Britain, France,

West Germany, Norway, Denmark, Italy, Belgium, Netherlands, Luxembourg, Portugal, Iceland, Greece, and Turkey.

The NATO nations have about 450,000 people and turn out two thirds of the world's factory-made goods. NATO is the Free World's mightiest alliance.

With U.S. aid, our allies strengthened their armies. All NATO members are pledged to fight together in case any member country is attacked. General Dwight D. Eisenhower (who later became U.S. President) was NATO's first commander, from 1949 to 1952. He organized NATO's "international army." Several hundred thousand U.S. soldiers, mostly stationed in West Germany, are part of the NATO forces.

Another large body of troops is provided by West Germany. Other members have assigned army groups for NATO duty, except Iceland, which has no armed forces. Besides the land troops in Europe, NATO has battle fleets in the Atlantic Ocean, the Mediterranean Sea, and the waters near Britain.

UPI PHOTO

In 1948 the Russians blockaded all land routes leading to West Berlin. To keep the people of West Berlin from starving, the United States, Great Britain, and France flew fuel, food, and other supplies to the city from West Germany. Photo shows West Berlin boys waving to one of the planes bringing supplies to the surrounded city.

Governing body of NATO is a Council made up of the foreign ministers of the member nations, including the U.S. Secretary of State.

The Communist nations in 1955 set up their own alliance, the Warsaw Pact. Members of this pact were Soviet Russia, East Germany, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Bulgaria, Romania, and Albania. (Albania was expelled in 1962 after its leaders quarreled with Soviet Russia.)

One Communist-ruled nation of Eastern Europe, Yugoslavia, never joined the Warsaw Pact. In 1948, Yugoslavia's Communist dictator Tito quarreled with Stalin. Yugoslavia continued to have a Communist government, but it no longer took orders from the Russians. Yugoslavia said that each Communist nation should build communism in its own way. The quarrel between Yugoslavia and Soviet Russia was the first open split between two Communist nations.

Stalin died in 1953. The Russians were in control of all East European Communist nations except Yugoslavia. But

Stalin had failed to spread communism to any other part of Europe.

In June of 1953, only three months after Stalin died, the East Germans revolted against Communist rule. The Russian army crushed the revolt. But the uprising showed how dissatisfied the people of Eastern Europe were with Communist rule. No matter how hard the Communists tried to destroy all opposition to their rule, the spirit of liberty lived on in the hearts of men.

WIDE WORLD PHOTO

In June, 1953, the people of East Germany rose in revolt against their Communist rulers. The uprising was put down by Russian soldiers and tanks. Photo shows two young East Germans battling Russian tanks with stones.

Chapter Eight STUDY AIDS

Questions to Think About

1. How did the Marshall Plan and NATO help stop the spread of communism in Europe?
2. What was the Berlin blockade of 1948?
3. How successful have the Russians been in keeping control of the satellite nations?
4. In what ways do people in Communist countries learn about the Free World?

Words and Terms to Understand

Cold War, Iron Curtain, jamming radio broadcasts, Marshall Plan, Truman Doctrine, Tito, Warsaw Pact

Check Your Reading

1. What is the Cold War?
2. What nations are members of the Warsaw Pact?
3. West Berlin is surrounded by what Communist-ruled country?
4. Why is Communist Yugoslavia not considered to be one of Soviet Russia's satellites?
5. What nations were the first to receive United States aid under the Truman Doctrine?
6. In what year did Soviet Russia explode its first atomic bomb?
7. Who was the first commander of the NATO forces in Europe?

9 Khrushchev in Command

How does Khrushchev's dictatorship differ from Stalin's?
How does Khrushchev keep Soviet Russia's satellites in line?
How is he trying to win friends for communism?

■ Joseph Stalin's dictatorship over Soviet Russia lasted until his death, on March 5, 1953. Then three of his closest assistants – Beria, Malenkov, and Molotov – took over. They promised to replace Stalin's one-man rule with "collective leadership" (rule by a group).

This collective leadership did not last long. By 1957, one man – Nikita Khrushchev – had come out on top. Khrushchev had come up through the ranks as a Communist Party worker. He won out in the fight for power, just as Stalin did, largely because he was head of the Russian Communist Party. But there was a difference in the way the two men dealt with their rivals. When Stalin was struggling to become dictator, he jailed or murdered those who opposed him or drove them out of the country. Khrushchev acted differently. He did not

kill his rivals; instead, he took away their jobs. Some of Khrushchev's top rivals are still working for the Russian government, though not in high positions.

Khrushchev had been one of Stalin's most trusted aids. Praising Stalin, Khrushchev had said in 1938:

> For Stalin is our hope. He is the beacon which guides all progressive humanity. Stalin is our banner! Stalin is our will! Stalin is our victory!

But Khrushchev spoke quite differently after Stalin died. In 1956, Khrushchev charged that Stalin had murdered thousands of innocent people, including many top Communist leaders. Khrushchev has kept up his attacks on Stalin ever since. He ordered statues and paintings of Stalin to be pulled down all over Russia. In 1961, the names of cities and other places which had been named for Stalin were changed.

Stalin's funeral: Russian leaders carry the dictator's coffin. On left side are Kaganovich, Bulganin, Molotov, Vassily Stalin (Stalin's son), and Malenkov. Beria is on right. All are now dead or have lost their jobs.

SOVFOTO

As a final insult, Stalin's body was removed from its place of honor beside Lenin's, in a great tomb in the center of Moscow.

How much has Soviet Russia changed under Khrushchev's leadership?

Inside Soviet Russia Today

Travelers say that the Russian people seem to feel somewhat freer and less afraid than under Stalin. Inside Soviet Russia, writers and poets have published some books, articles, and poems criticizing the way things have been run in Soviet Russia under communism. Khrushchev has abolished most of the labor camps, where Stalin imprisoned 11,000,000 people. There "slave laborers" had to work without pay in mines, on farms, and on road-building projects. The secret police no longer arrests large numbers of people in the middle of the night, never to be heard of again.

Khrushchev has also allowed more people from the Free World to visit Soviet Russia, including about 13,000 Americans in 1961. Russian scientists, teachers, artists, athletes, and students have visited Free World nations in greater numbers to study and to take part in meetings and sports. This was hardly ever permitted under Stalin.

Unlike Stalin, who seldom left Soviet Russia, Khrushchev himself has been eager to visit other nations. He has been to the United States twice, as well as to India, Africa, France, and other parts of the world.

Under Khrushchev, Soviet Russia's industries have been producing more refrigerators, TV sets, radios, clothing, and other things used by people in their daily lives. Khrushchev has also tried hard to increase Soviet Russia's output of grains and other foods.

Khrushchev has urged farmers to use more modern methods. He has promised to supply farmers with more fertilizer, tractors, and other farm machinery. New lands have been plowed for crops on Khrushchev's orders. Farmers, who

UPI P

Hungarian "freedom fighter" wears emblem of the old Hungarian kingdom during 1956 revolt against Communists. Russian troops crushed uprising.

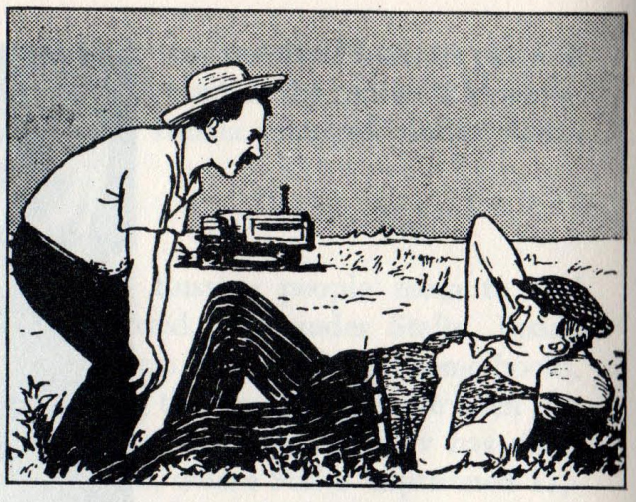
formerly had fewer comforts of life than the poorest city workers, are receiving higher incomes. Over 100,000,000 Russians live on farms – almost half of Soviet Russia's people. And yet in 1960 Russian farmers produced 40 per cent less food than the 16,000,000 Americans who live on farms. Living standards in Soviet Russia are far below those of the United States and of the free countries of Western Europe.

Inside the Satellites

Khrushchev has made some changes inside Soviet Russia, though the Communists remain as firmly in control as ever. And he has changed the Russian way of dealing with the Communist leaders in the Eastern European satellite countries. He has even allowed some of them more freedom in running their own countries.

In the fall of 1956, riots broke out in Poznan, a city of

This Russian cartoon criticizes farmers, many of whom are more interested in their private plots than in working hard on the collective farms. Despite Premier Khrushchev's efforts to give farmers more farm machinery and fertilizers, the output of food keeps lagging behind the growing needs of Russia's people.



FROM PRAVDA

Russian Farmer: "Why aren't you doing your work on the government farm?"
Second Farmer: "I'm saving my strength for more important work – on my own garden plot."

western Poland. A clash between the Polish people and the Russian troops stationed inside Poland seemed likely. Then Khrushchev allowed Wladyslaw Gomulka, a Communist leader who had been jailed by Stalin, to head Poland's government. Gomulka believes firmly in communism. He follows Soviet Russia's leadership in world affairs. But Polish – not Russian – Communists are running Poland. Gomulka permitted a little more freedom to Poland's Roman Catholic Church, to which 90 per cent of Poland's people belong. He allowed farmers to leave collective farms, and permitted writers and poets a little more freedom in their writing. (But recently Poland's government has restricted some of the freedoms won in 1956.)

Revolution was avoided in Poland, but not in neighboring Hungary. In October, 1956, the Hungarian people took up arms against communism. This was more than Khrushchev would allow. He sent Russian troops and tanks to crush the Hungarian revolution.

Khrushchev showed that he would use force to keep

Eastern Europe under communism. He has also tried to reduce discontent in Hungary by helping to provide the people with a few more of the comforts of life. In recent years, Soviet Russia has given Communist Hungary over $300,000,000 worth of machinery, food, and other aid.

Besides giving aid to Communist countries, Khrushchev has given billions of dollars' worth of aid to Asian and African nations, in order to win more friends for communism.

"Peaceful Coexistence"

Has communism really changed under Khrushchev?

Some of the Communists' methods may have changed a little, but their aims and ideas are still the same. Khrushchev – just like Stalin – says that communism aims to take over the whole world. Khrushchev claims that this can be done without fighting a war – by "peaceful coexistence."

How does peaceful coexistence work? Khrushchev hopes, for example, that he will win over to communism such nations as Guinea, Ghana, and Indonesia. He is trying to do so by

President Kennedy's talks with Khrushchev (left) in Austria in 1961 did not reduce the disagreements between the United States and Soviet Russia.

WIDE WORLD PHOTO

WIDE WORLD PHOTO

In 1961 the Communists built a 25-mile-long wall to keep East Germans from fleeing to free West Berlin by way of Communist-ruled East Berlin.

giving them help and persuading them that communism is the best form of government. He is trying to make Cuba a "beachhead of communism" in Latin America by giving weapons, machinery, and advice to Premier Castro's government. Encouraged by the Russians, Castro has bitterly criticized the United States and has called on other Latin Americans to turn to Soviet Russia and communism. Communists and admirers of Fidel Castro in such countries as Guatemala, Venezuela, Brazil, and Argentina have organized strikes and riots, and have tried to make trouble in other ways.

At the same time, Khrushchev has been trying to force the United States and its allies to leave West Berlin. On Khrushchev's orders, the East German Communists have built a wall of brick, concrete, and barbed wire to seal off free West Berlin from Communist East Berlin.

In other parts of the world, such as Laos and South Vietnam, Khrushchev has encouraged armed Communist

Khrushchev: "Now those West Germans and Americans won't bother you."

AURI IN THE TIMES OF INDIA, NEW DELHI, INDIA

Berlin wall is part of the Iron Curtain that keeps people from getting out of Communist countries and keeps ideas of freedom from getting in.

bands who are trying to take over the governments of their country. And Khrushchev continues to build Russia's industries and armed forces.

To show off Russia's might, Khrushchev has sent into orbit around the earth manned spaceships. In the fall of 1961, he ordered a series of big nuclear explosions to be set off in Novaya Zemlya, two islands north of Russia. Khrushchev has boasted that Russian missiles carrying atomic bombs can destroy the United States and its allies. He hopes the time will come when no other nation will dare fight Soviet Russia; then the Communists can take over the whole world without fighting a war.

Since Khrushchev took power, the Cold War gets warmer one day and cooler the next. One day Khrushchev makes threats against the Free World; the next day he talks of "peaceful competition" between communism and the Free World. Although the Russians say they are eager to meet

with U.S. leaders to settle differences, such meetings have accomplished little. For example, U.S. and Russian leaders have met many times to discuss a ban on nuclear weapons. The United States says that both our country and Soviet Russia should be open to inspectors, who could check whether nuclear arms are being made. Otherwise, the United States says, an agreement could be secretly violated. But Soviet Russia says that foreign inspectors would be "spies," and the Russians will not agree to an effective inspection system.

On the surface, Khrushchev's communism may look different from Stalin's. But Khrushchev has been just as unwilling as Stalin to work with the Free World for peace and justice.

How important are the changes which Khrushchev has made inside Russia and the Communist-ruled world? Will communism continue changing under Khrushchev? Will Communists become more willing to work out peacefully their differences with the United States?

Whatever these changes may be, the all-powerful Communist control remains – the denial of civil rights and of a man's freedom to choose his own way of life, the loss of that human dignity which is the mark of a human being.

The Communists admit that, under communism, people lose some of their freedom as individuals. This is necessary, they say, in order that everybody work together under Communist leadership, for more of the material things in life. But in the next chapter you will see that the people of Russia, the oldest and richest Communist nation, still lack many of the comforts of life.

Chapter Nine STUDY AIDS

Questions to Think About

1. Have the basic aims of communism changed under Khrushchev?
2. Describe briefly what Khrushchev means by "peaceful coexistence."
3. What were the differences and similarities between Khrushchev's and Stalin's rise to top leadership in the Soviet Union?
4. Why did the Hungarians and Poles rebel against communism in 1956?
5. What were some of Khrushchev's main criticisms of Stalin's dictatorship?

Words and Terms to Understand

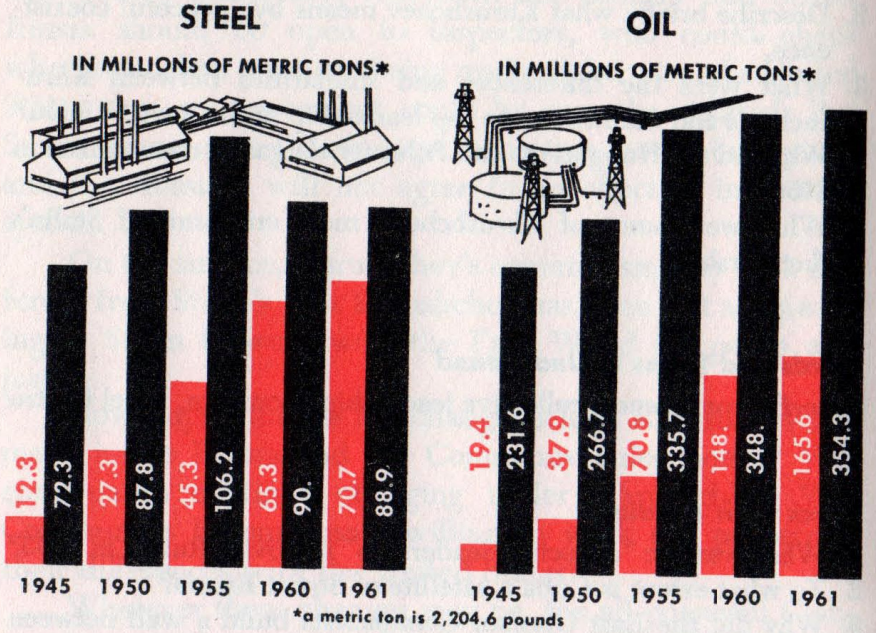
peaceful coexistence, collective leadership, Gomulka, Fidel Castro

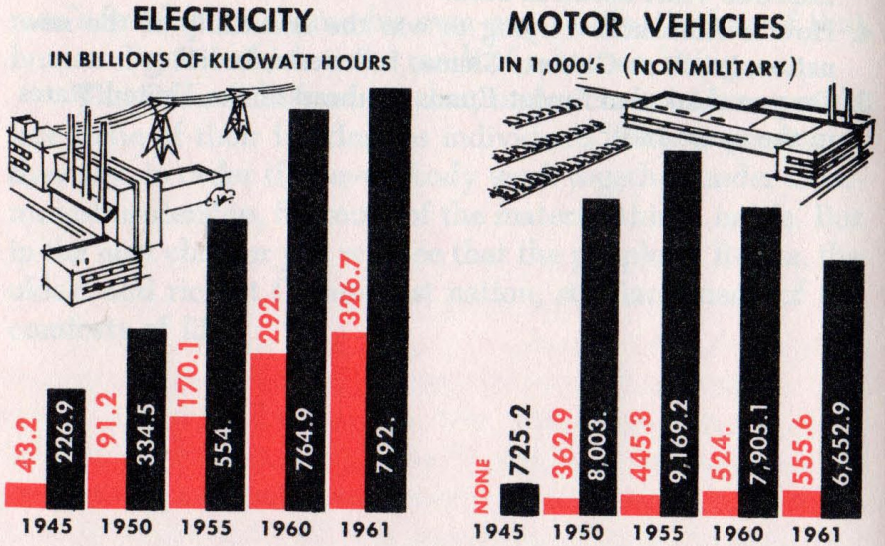
Check Your Reading

1. What was the "collective leadership" in Soviet Russia in 1953?
2. To what extent is Cuba a satellite of Soviet Russia?
3. Why did the East German Communists build a wall between East and West Berlin in 1961?
4. How is Khrushchev trying to win the friendship of the new nations, such as Guinea, Ghana, Indonesia, India?
5. Do you think that Soviet Russia is ahead of the United States in the space race?

THE PRODUCTION RACE

Soviet Russia's output (red bars) lags behind that of U.S. (black bars), but it has come up fast in some important areas.





How Russians Live Today

10

How do people live in Soviet Russia today? What freedoms do the Russian people have under communism? To what extent have the Communists wiped out religion?

■ A factory worker in Moscow wrote this letter to a Soviet Russian newspaper:

> It is time we stopped fooling ourselves about spaceships and jet planes. Let's come down to earth – to ordinary shoes. I have one pair, which I've worn for four years. And why did they last that long? Because they were made abroad. I don't want or need a turboprop plane – I do quite well in a streetcar. But I do want to live better and have properly made clothes.

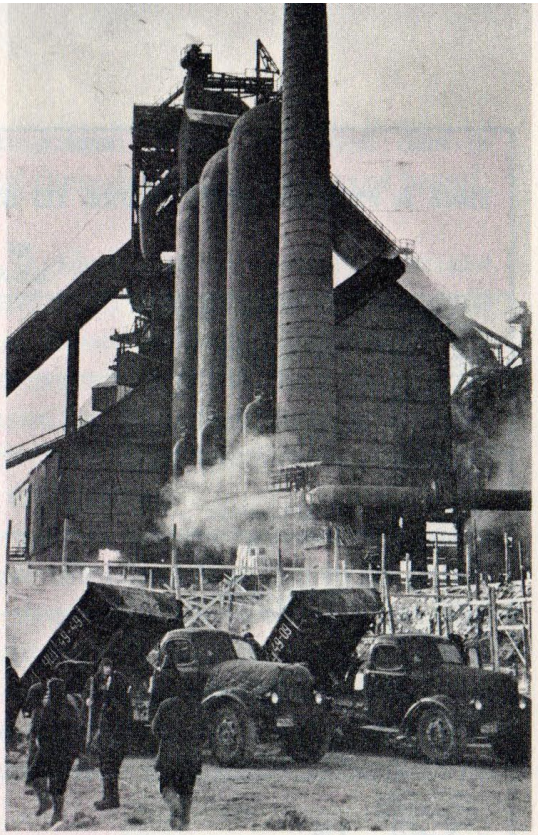
Lack of the ordinary things needed for daily living – that's what the Russian people complain about most.

Soviet Russia has built up heavy industries. These industries turn out guns, tanks, planes, and missiles for an armed force of millions of men. The Russians make plenty of steel, machines, and chemicals; and Russian scientists have pushed ahead in exploring space and using atomic energy. Russia has sent manned spaceships orbiting around the earth and has

built powerful missiles that can carry atomic bombs to targets thousands of miles distant. Yet the Russian people have to go without many things that we consider necessities. Industries that make things for the home, for everyday use, have not grown nearly so much as heavy industries.

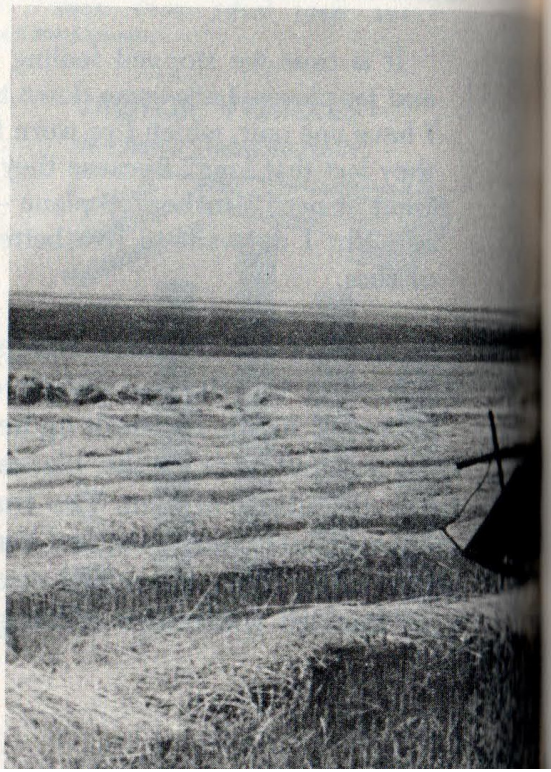
Clothes and Food Are Scarce

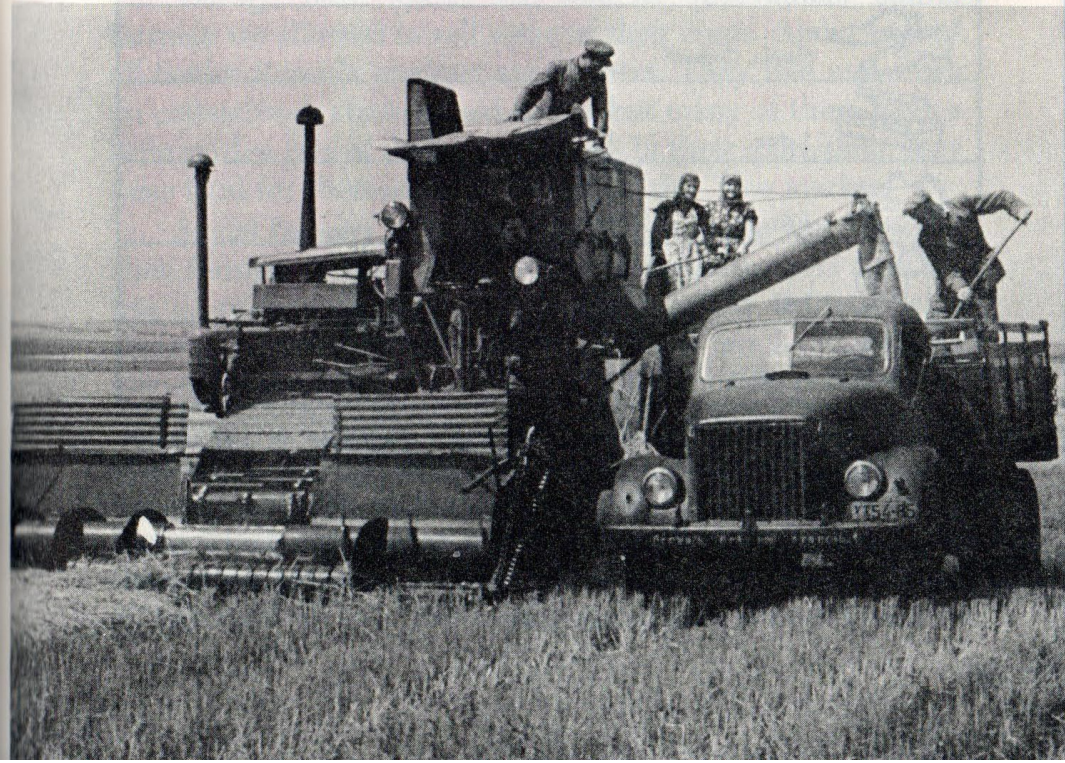
Like everyone else, a Russian wants to look well in what he wears. The people have enough clothing to keep warm and well, but most of it is drab in color, poorly made, and poorly fitting. Many women make their own dresses, but they have a hard time finding the right materials and colors. Shop windows often have attractive clothes on display, but the customer may find the garments are for show – not for sale. In country towns, clothes are even harder to buy. During the winter, the shops may run out of badly needed mittens, overcoats, and *valenki* (thick felt boots). Even buttons and needles are often scarce.



This blast furnace is in a steel mill in the southern part of Soviet Russia, world's second ranking steel-producing nation. The United States is first.

SOVFOTO





On the rolling plains of southern Russia, farmers grow wheat, barley, oats, rye, and corn. Photo shows members of a collective farm harvesting wheat with the help of modern machinery.

SOURCE: U.S. BUREAU OF LABOR STATISTICS

TIME A PERSON MUST WORK TO BE ABLE TO BUY GOODS

	IN U.S.A.	IN SOVIET RUSSIA
SOAP, Small cake	3 min.	32 min.
SUGAR, 1 lb.	3 min.	1 hr. 4 min.
SHIRT, Men's, cotton	56 min.	15 hr.
DRESS, Street, rayon	4 hr. 36 min.	73 hr. 30 min.
STOCKINGS, Nylon	37 min.	8 hr.
SUIT, Men's, wool	23 hr.	275 hr.
POTATOES, 1 lb.	2 min.	7 min.
SHOES, Men's, Oxford	7 hr.	61 hr.
EGGS, 1 doz.	17 min.	2 hr. 24 min.
TEA, 1 oz.	6 min.	33 min.
MILK, 1 qt.	8 min.	31 min.
BREAD, Rye, 1 lb.	6 min.	9 min.

This chart is based on 1959 figures, the latest available. In one column is shown the amount of working time that the average U. S. worker must spend on his job in order to buy certain necessities of life. For example, the average U. S. worker earns enough in 56 minutes to buy a man's shirt. But, as the next column shows, the average Russian would have to labor 15 hours to earn enough to get a shirt.

Russians have plenty of food to eat, but their diet is monotonous. More than half their day's food consists of bread, cabbage, and potatoes.

Premier Khrushchev scolded Russian farmers because the output of grain, milk, and meat is lagging far behind goals set by Communist planners. About half of all the meat Russians get is sausage – a preserved kind that can be kept at room temperature. One reason for this is that few families have a place to keep things cold. Only about one in every 25 or 30 families has an electric refrigerator.

Buying a bag of groceries in a Soviet government store may take hours. The shopper often stands in line to get inside the store. Once inside the store, she goes to the counter that sells a certain food item which she wants. First she asks how much it is (prices aren't marked on the items). Then she goes back to the cashier and buys a ticket for that one item. Finally she takes the ticket back to the food counter and claims her item.

Though most goods are sold at government stores, farmers are allowed to sell some of their crops. About half of all Soviet Russia's workers are farmers. They live and work on collective or state-owned farms, but many of them have a little garden plot of their own as well. In their spare time, they raise food for themselves or to sell on the "free market."

Soviet farmers have few machines and use less fertilizer than farmers in the United States. Russian farmers also use less up-to-date methods. For example, in the United States there is one tractor for every seven acres of cropland, while in Soviet Russia there is only one tractor for every 485 acres.

Russia's Premier Khrushchev has promised the Russian people that by 1980 they'll have plenty of everything, including meat and eggs. But in the meantime most Russians are lucky if they have one or two eggs a week. And in June, 1962, the government raised the price of meat and butter about 30 per cent.

Housing Is a Problem

Housing is the number one shortage in Soviet Russia today. About 2,000,000 homes (mainly two-room apartments) are being built each year. But it will be many years before most people in cities have adequate housing.

The government owns nearly all buildings in Soviet Russia. So Russians pay rent to the government for their homes. Rent usually takes three to five per cent of a Russian's pay. (In the United States the average rent payment is around 25 cents out of every dollar earned.) But the average Russian gets much less for his rent money than an American. A Russian lives in an old building; probably he has one room for himself and his family. The family probably shares a kitchen and toilet with four or five other families. In the newer buildings, a family may have two rooms and a separate kitchen and bathroom.

Russians complain of the poor construction of many new buildings. Doors and windows warp; lighting and plumbing fixtures sometimes don't work. And even in two rooms a family has little living space. Boys and girls have no room to play, do their homework, or work on their hobbies. Grown-

BLACK STAR PHOTO

Women do much of the hard work in Russian factories and farms. These women are painting a center line in a square in Moscow, the capital.

ups have no place to entertain friends. A dwelling is a place to eat and sleep, and that is about all.

A man may build his own house (not over five rooms) or hire someone to build it. Not many people do so, because building is expensive and building materials are hard to get. The government controls the supply of building materials, so that a person can't always get what he needs.

Many Russian families yearn to have a little summer place. Most of these *dachas* in the country are owned by Communist Party leaders, scientists, artists, and factory managers. These are among the highest-paid people. Their salaries may be 10 to 20 times higher than the pay of factory workers.

Some of these highly paid people and their families look down on the workers and farmers who have fewer of the good things in life. Children of Communist leaders have a better chance than other young people to go to the university, get a good job, and enjoy the advantages of life. Communists say that under communism everybody is equal and has the same chance to get ahead. But in Russia and other Communist-ruled nations, prominent Party leaders are privileged people enjoying advantages others don't have.

There Is No Religious Freedom

Karl Marx, the founder of communism, said that "religion is the opiate of the people." He meant that religion was like a drug that kept the poor people quiet and obedient under capitalism. The Communists are enemies of all religion. They believe that religious beliefs are false and must be uprooted from the minds and hearts of men. In Russia, young people are taught that there is no God. (In some satellite countries, such as Poland, worship is less hindered than in Soviet Russia.)

Before the Communists took control of Russia, most people worshiped in the Russian Orthodox Church. In the 1920's, the Communists closed down most churches in Rus-

WIDE WORLD PHOTO

Despite more than forty years of Communist rule, millions of Russians still worship in the Christian faith. Photo shows a procession of "Old Believers," a group which split from the Russian Orthodox Church centuries ago.

sia. They killed or jailed many priests and hindered religion in other ways. This persecution stopped after a while. Some churches have reopened, but there are only one third as many as before communism took over. The leaders of the Russian Orthodox Church must take orders from the Communist government.

Nobody knows just how many Russians still worship in the Orthodox faith. Foreign experts say that Orthodox believers in Russia still number in the tens of millions. There are also more than a million Lutherans, half a million Baptists, and several million Roman Catholics in Soviet Russia. About 30,000,000 people in the Asian part of Russia are Moslems.

Soviet Russia does not have freedom of religion as we know it. The government would take stern action against any church or religious group that spoke against communism. No Sunday schools, Bible schools, or church-operated schools of any kind are allowed.

Chapter Ten STUDY AIDS

Questions to Think About

1. What basic human liberties are denied by communism?
2. In what ways does the life of the average Russian resemble and differ from that of an American?
3. Why do Russia's Communists believe it necessary to give preference to heavy industry over the production of consumer goods?

Words and Terms to Understand

Russian Orthodox Church, "opium of the people," Moslems

Check Your Reading

1. What are the staple foods of the Russians?
2. How serious is the housing shortage in Soviet Russia?
3. Do sons and daughters of high Communist officials have advantages denied other young Russians?
4. About what percentage of the Russian people are farmers?

11 Training the Minds of Youth

How do the Communists use schools to strengthen their rule? What is it like to be a teen-ager in a Communist-ruled country?

"Give me four years to teach the children and the seed I have sown will never be uprooted."— LENIN

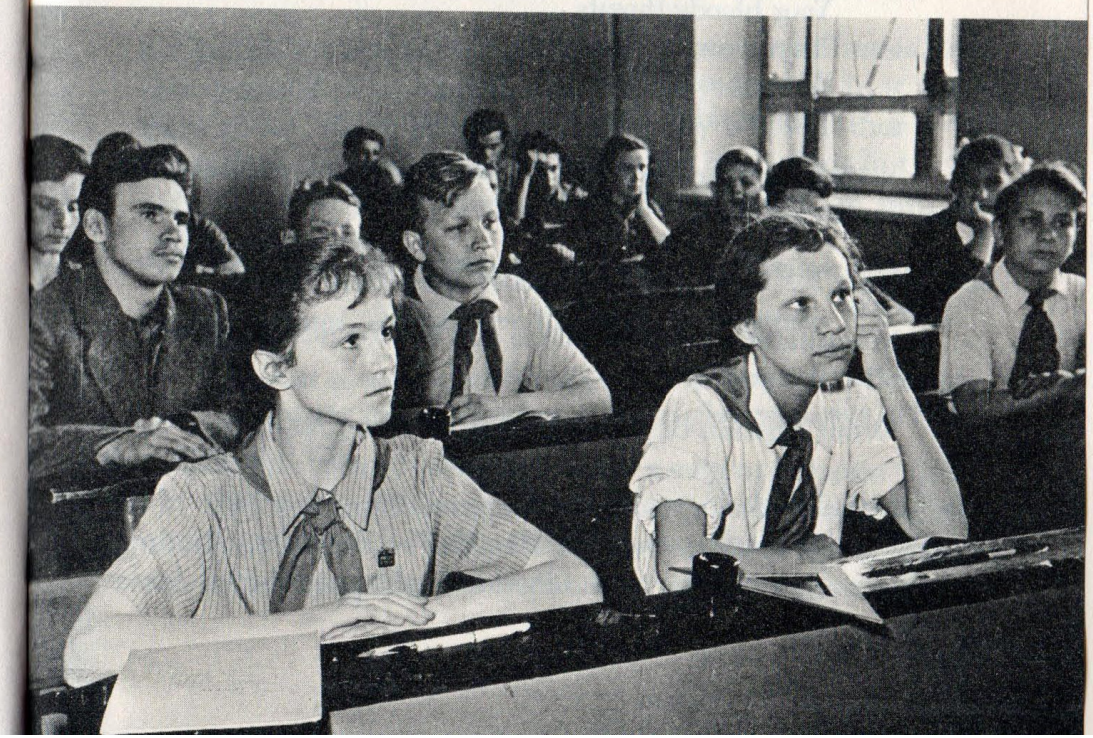
■ "Early in the morning from my window I see . . ." sang the first-graders. The song ended with praise of Lenin. A big picture of Lenin, founder of Soviet Russia, looked down upon the children.

It was the first day of school at Public School No. 702 in Moscow, Soviet Russia. All over Soviet Russia similar scenes were being repeated that day. The Communists had begun to train another group of young people to be followers of communism.

SOVFOTO

Left: Nearly all Russian boys and girls belong to Communist youth groups at some time. The youth organizations are partners with schools in training young Communists. But they also provide boys and girls with fun and play. This photo shows three Young Pioneers preparing a bulletin-board news presentation.

Below: These Russian boys and girls are shown attending class in a Moscow school.



School — a Training Ground for Communism

All through school, Russian boys and girls are taught to be loyal to communism and to their Communist leaders. No teachers or students are allowed to say in school that the Communist system is wrong. Nor are they allowed to say that another system of government is better than communism.

The Communists start early to pound home another idea: that the capitalist system, such as we have in the United States, is bad. Did you ever hear the song "Barnacle Bill the Sailor"? The Russians have rewritten it into the story of labor struggle. Barnacle Bill becomes a sailor on strike against a "rich shipowner," in a Russian textbook for English classes:

> Who is knocking at my door?
> Said the rich shipowner . . .
> I want good grub and want more pay
> Said Barnacle Bill the sailor . . .
> I'll ship scabs and I'll break your ranks,
> said the rich shipowner.
> I'll call troops and they'll bring their tanks . . .
> Your bloody threats
> May come to pass . . .
> But you can't defeat
> The working class.

A textbook used in English classes goes on to tell Russian boys and girls that:

> The workers in capitalist countries get only starvation wages.
>
> In capitalist countries there is one law for rich people and another for poor people.

What Russian boys and girls read about America is carefully selected to give a one-sided view. Stories and books tell much about crimes, violence, wars, injustice, but little of the good things of life in the Free World. The Russians sometimes deliberately twist the truth to give a bad impression of America. John Gunther, an American who wrote about Russia, tells of a textbook in an English class for 12-year-olds. In it was a story about "Black Jimmie," a Negro boy whose father is out of work. Jimmie shivers as he lies on the floor of his hut — the only place he has to sleep. He is forbidden to go into the "white man's city."

Another statement from *English*, a book for eighth-year English classes, shows how the truth is twisted:

> The most successful children's writer in America is the one who can write stories showing new and cleverer ways to rob, steal, and kill.

This is the false and ugly picture of the United States which Russian boys and girls receive in school. They have no way of learning the real truth.

BURCK, CHICAGO SUN-TIMES

While Stalin was dictator, history books used in Soviet Russia's schools praised him as the world's greatest, best, and wisest ruler. But three years after Stalin's death, in 1953, Soviet Russia's new Communist Party chief, Khrushchev, bitterly criticized Stalin. After this, history books were rewritten to include criticism of Stalin instead of praise. The cartoonist is commenting on the practice in Soviet Russia of rewriting history books to express the views of leaders who are currently in power.

"Skip the chapter on Stalin. We're rewriting that part of the book."

Going to College

In Russian schools, studies are hard and discipline is strict. But much is done to make school attractive. There are healthful school lunches, good medical care, challenging studies, low-cost summer camps with "camp scholarships" for the best students. Schooling is free. In fact, college and university students are paid to go to school. And a boy or girl who graduates from a university is practically assured of a good job.

All this is done with a purpose – a Communist purpose. It is one way in which young people are taught to think of communism as the good life. Communists use the schools to win the loyalty of young people and to mold the Communists of the future.

Another point to remember is that the good things of Russian schools are not for everybody. Of each group of 10 first-graders, two drop out of school on completing the seventh year. Five more have left school by the end of the tenth year. Of the three who are left, one gets into a university.

After the seventh year, pupils may be transferred to "labor-reserve" schools for assignment to national labor projects. About 1,000,000 boys and girls are thus removed from the regular educational system, with little prospect of getting into more skilled work.

The high-school course of study has changed a great deal since 1952. The government has decided that boys and girls in high school spent too much time studying academic subjects, such as history, geography, and literature. Under the new program, much more time is given to vocational subjects. Also, by the age of 15, all but the brightest boys are sent to work or to special vocational schools. These schools train them for certain kinds of jobs, chiefly those requiring manual skills.

All through school, boys and girls are taught to believe in communism. If there is any doubt about a student's political beliefs, he may have trouble getting into college. A play that opened recently in Prague, capital of Communist Czechoslovakia, is about a boy who wants to go to the university. Because he has a friend who is known to oppose communism, the youth organization won't approve the boy for admission to the university. He doesn't get in.

Youth Organizations

Perhaps you wonder how a youth organization can affect a boy's future like that. The fact is that youth organizations are partners with the schools in training young Communists. Soviet Russia and other Communist countries have no Boy Scouts, Y.M.C.A., Campfire Girls, or any other youth groups run by the people themselves. The only groups allowed

"And so, my friends, you have seen dresses which you cannot order, made out of fabrics which you cannot buy."

KROKODIL, RUSSIAN HUMOR MAGAZINE

are those run by the Communist government. Nearly all boys and girls belong to these Communist youth groups at some time. Most of the good students, the best athletes, the student leaders are members all through school.

Little children just entering school join the Octobrists. At about 10, they become Young Pioneers and wear a red neckerchief. It is a great disgrace to be left out of the Young Pioneers or to be expelled from the group. Young Pioneers meet after school in their own clubhouses. Big cities have "Pioneers Palaces." One, in Leningrad, has 308 rooms and was once really a king's palace. Here the boys and girls play, swim, read, work at hobbies, and learn about communism.

Young Pioneers "graduate" to a Communist organization for older youths. In Soviet Russia, this is the Young Communist League ("Komsomol"). The members get large doses of Communist training. The best of the Komsomols are watched as possible future members of the Communist Party.

So the Communists try in many ways to mold the minds of their young people. It is part of the plan to keep them safely under Communist control. In the next chapter you will read about the Communist "recipe" for keeping adults under control, too.

How well have the Communists succeeded in controlling the minds of their people? In Hungary, when an uprising broke out in 1956, students and working people led the fighting against their Communist rulers. Yet students and working people were supposed to be the groups most loyal to communism.

Chapter Eleven STUDY AIDS

Questions to Think About

1. In what ways does your school resemble a Russian school? In what ways is it different?
2. Education is sometimes defined as "the freeing of the mind." Does this apply to education in Soviet Russia's schools? How about your own education?
3. Compare our American youth organizations with those of Soviet Russia.

Words and Terms to Understand

Young Pioneers, Komsomols, capitalist system, starvation wages

Check Your Reading

1. In Soviet Russia, what chance would you have to go to college if you openly disagreed with communism?
2. Why do Soviet Russia's schools put great emphasis on vocational subjects?
3. What did the Hungarian revolt of 1956 show about the loyalty of students to communism?
4. What is taught in Russian schools about the United States?

12

How the Communists Stay in Control

How do a few million Communists control 218,000,000 Russians? What happens to a Russian who criticizes communism? How firmly do young people behind the Iron Curtain believe in communism?

■ Soviet Russia's Communist Party has about 10,000,000 members. This means that the Communists are a small minority of Russia's 218,000,000 people. In all other Communist countries, too, the Communists are a small minority. Why don't the rest of the people rise up and throw out the Communists?

In the early days of Communist rule (the 1920's), most Americans expected the Communists to be overthrown at any moment. Yet today most experts on Soviet Russia say there isn't much chance of a revolution in that country.

How does the Communist minority keep the rest of the Russian people under control? It may be partly a matter of habit. The Russian people have lived under communism now for more than 40 years. It's just their ordinary way of life. Many of them probably would find it hard to imagine any other kind of life. But Communists have other means of

SOVFOTO

Khrushchev (center) joins in ceremony honoring Soviet Russia's first earth-circling astronauts, Gherman Titov (left) and Yuri Gagarin (right).

control – especially the "5 P's": pride, propaganda, promises, prizes, and punishment.

Appeal to Pride

In 40 years, Soviet Russia has become the second-ranking nation in industry (after the United States). It is a close rival to the United States in military strength. Its scientific accomplishments have astonished the world – especially in launching giant spaceships and sending men into orbit around the earth. Under dictator Stalin, neighboring nations – such as Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia – were made part of Soviet Russia. Russia also built an empire of Communist satellite nations in Eastern Europe. Many Russians are proud that, under communism, Russia has grown larger and more powerful than ever before in the past, even though they dislike living without freedom.

Use of Propaganda

Naturally the Communists claim all the credit for making Soviet Russia strong and powerful. That is an important part of their propaganda. (Propaganda means persuading people that certain ideas are true.) The Communists say that communism is bringing peace, power, and prosperity to the Russian nation. They tell the people that the United States and other non-Communist nations aim to make war on Russia.

Khrushchev keeps telling the Russian people that, in the Free World countries, "the stores are bursting with goods, while the people are starving and are barefoot and ill clothed." The United States, a mighty industrial nation, is pictured as having millions of hungry people and unemployed workers. "Because such people and many others whose earnings are low do not have money to buy products, the stores are well stocked," says Khrushchev.

The Russian people have few ways of checking up on

Moscow celebration marks anniversary of Bolshevik Revolution. Marchers show Communist beliefs by carrying red flags and Khrushchev's picture.

WIDE WORLD PHOTO

what they are told. That is because the Communist government controls the publishing of all books, newspapers, and magazines, as well as radio and TV broadcasts. It also decides what foreign books and papers can be brought into Soviet Russia.

Under an agreement with Soviet Russia's government, the United States is allowed to send to Russia 50,000 copies of *America*. This magazine, written in the Russian language, tells about life in the United States.

"The Voice of America" and other radio programs from the Free World are broadcast in the Russian language, but Communists "jam" these programs by broadcasting static noises. Radio receivers in Russia usually cannot pick up the programs clearly.

Promise of a Better Life

One of the Communist propaganda messages is that communism will soon bring the people all kinds of good things. All Russians will live well by 1980 – so Premier Khrushchev claimed in a message to the Communist Party meeting in Moscow in October, 1961. Everybody will have a comfortable home to live in, rent-free. Transportation will be free, too. There will be plenty of food and other comforts of life, and lots of leisure time to enjoy them, Khrushchev said.

These promises may persuade some Russians to be hopeful for a better future under communism.

Prizes for Good Performance

Right now the Russian people do not live very well, but that has always been true. Their diet is monotonous – mostly bread, potatoes, cabbage. Meat and fruit are expensive and scarce. Their homes are crowded and uncomfortable. But there are special rewards for those who work especially hard and are loyal to communism. The Communist leaders help such persons get better apartments. Medals and awards are

the past few years, people have not been shot because of their opinions about the government – as far as we know.

The terror may be over, at least for now. But it could happen again. The Communists still have power to use any kind of force they wish. They control the police, the army, the courts, the factories, the farms, and everything else in Soviet Russia. Those who oppose communism have little chance to organize, and they would lose their lives if caught at it. They cannot publish their ideas, hold meetings, or make any protest in public. They cannot form a rival political party or have candidates in elections.

The crushing of the 1956 Hungarian Revolution by Russian soldiers and tanks showed that Khrushchev will use any force necessary to put down opposition. Now Hungary is again firmly under Communist rule. And Khrushchev keeps more than 50,000 Russian troops in Hungary (and tens of thousands more in other satellite nations) to make sure the people won't succeed in overthrowing communism.

But the hope for freedom lives on in the hearts of the Hungarians and of the people in other Communist-ruled countries. In Poland, for example, a number of books and plays criticizing the evils of communism were published in the years after Stalin's death, when the Communist dictatorship was relaxed somewhat. And though the Communists have taken strong steps to curb this spirit of liberty in the last year or two, the Poles still worship in their churches and speak openly. Even in Russia a good many people resent the lack of personal freedom under communism. Young people in particular dislike the strict Communist control of their daily lives. Many of them seem much more interested in living comfortably than in working for the goals of communism.

A great many people behind the Iron Curtain of communism want to think for themselves and yearn for freedom. How can the Free World strengthen this yearning for liberty?

Chapter Twelve STUDY AIDS

Questions to Think About

1. What role does propaganda play in the Communists' control of Soviet Russia?
2. What would the life of the Russian people be like by 1980 if Khrushchev's promises came true? How many of these promises do you think will come true?
3. How far can a Russian writer go in criticizing things in his country? How may the Communists punish a writer they don't approve of?
4. What are some of the things that make many Russian people proud of their country?

Words and Terms to Understand

propaganda, Voice of America, Boris Pasternak, "heroes of labor"

Check Your Reading

1. How did Khrushchev show he will use force if necessary to put down opposition within satellite nations?
2. Why did Soviet Russia's government forbid the publication of *Dr. Zhivago*?
3. What evidence is there that people in Communist-ruled countries are dissatisfied with their lack of freedom?
4. In Soviet Russia, how can people opposed to communism show their opposition?
5. What means does Soviet Russia's government have to punish dissenters?

13 Communism in the United States

Why is communism weak in the United States?
How has our government cracked down on Communists?

■ "To my grandson, who will live in a Communist United States." That was the dedication of a book, *The Twilight of Capitalism,* written a few years ago by William Z. Foster. He was then head of the U.S. Communist Party. Founded in 1919, it is one of the oldest Communist parties, but it has always been a small minority of the American people. The Party's biggest membership, during World War II, was 75,000 or 80,000. Today it has fewer than 10,000 members, according to the FBI.

Yet this small Party is important to world communism. Stalin, Soviet Russia's former dictator, once said: "I consider the Communist Party of the United States one of the parties to which history has given decisive tasks . . . leading millions of American workers toward the revolutionary class wars." It has been important in spreading Communist propaganda – and, many people believe, in spying.

Communism in the United States, like that in Europe,

sprang from the ideas of Karl Marx. Books and immigrants from Europe brought Marx's ideas to our shores. These ideas led to the founding of a Socialist political party.

Its biggest success at the polls was in 1912, when the Socialist candidate for President, Eugene V. Debs, received six per cent of the votes cast in the election.

The Socialist Party never became large or important because working people turned to labor unions instead of socialism to improve their living conditions.

A minority of U.S. Socialists believed in violent revolution. Encouraged by the Russian Revolution of 1917, these "left-wing" Socialists banded together to form the U.S. Communist Party in 1919.

Like most other Communist parties, the U.S. Communists joined the Comintern – the world Communist organization run by the Soviet Russia. Some U.S. Communist leaders have tried to reduce Soviet Russia's control of U.S. communism. These U.S. Communist leaders quickly lost their Party jobs and soon left the Party. From these and other facts, most Americans judged that the U.S. Communist Party was not an American political party, like the Republicans and Democrats, but a group controlled from abroad. A committee of Congress once asked William Z. Foster whether he would be loyal to the United States in time of war. Foster said that to all working people there is "only one flag, the red flag" (of communism).

The U.S. Communists had two big periods of growth and opportunity. One was during the great business depression of the 1930's, when many factories closed down and millions of workers lost their jobs. Communists stirred up protests and discontent among the people who were out of work.

At this time, too, a number of U.S. writers, artists, and other educated people became interested in communism. The nation and the world seemed very sick. Communism, these people thought, was the cure. Many of these Communist

sympathizers did not join the Party. They were "fellow travelers," who worked openly or secretly for Communist ideas. It has been estimated that there were at least 10 "fellow travelers" for each member of the Communist Party. That fact, many people believe, made communism dangerous in the United States in spite of the small size of the Party itself.

The second time of opportunity for Communists was World War II. The U.S. and Soviet Russia were allies in the war against Nazi Germany. In this period, the U.S. Communist Party did not put up candidates for public office or work as a political party. It was renamed "Communist Political Association" and pretended to be a patriotic, educational organization. Thus the Communists tried to disguise themselves as an organization working to help the U.S. win the war. At that time U.S. Communist membership reached perhaps 80,000, plus about 20,000 young people in the Communist Youth League.

Later the Communists took back their old name, "Communist Party." Since World War II the Party has "gone downhill." It has lost most of its members and has nearly run out of money. In 1958 its daily paper, the *Daily Worker*, went out of business, for lack of readers.

What happened? Some members just lost interest and stopped paying dues. Others became disgusted at Stalin's cruel dictatorship in Soviet Russia and his control over U.S. communism. Also the U.S. government began taking stern measures against communism.

For example, the Federal Bureau of Investigation rounded up several Communist spies, including some who had stolen our nation's atomic energy secrets. Some Communists born abroad were deported (sent back to their homelands). Investigations by Congress exposed secret Communists in a few government offices and among certain professional groups.

U.S. labor unions and workers played an important part

in fighting communism. Communists had control of some labor unions. Most of these unions have expelled their Communist officials.

The union leaders and workers opposed to the Communists got help from the Taft-Hartley labor law, passed in 1947. Under this law union leaders had to take an oath that they were not Communists. Otherwise the union could not get help from any government labor-relations agency during labor disputes.

Should We Outlaw Communism?

Some people urged that the Communist Party be outlawed and Americans forbidden to join. Others opposed this. They said that Communists would then "go underground" (work in secret) and it would be harder to keep track of them.

Congress passed two laws that have made things hard for the Communists. One of the laws is the Alien Registration Act of 1940 (sometimes called the Smith Act). Under this law, it is a crime to urge overthrowing the U.S. government by force. Beginning in 1947, about 100 Communist leaders were arrested and sent to jail under this law.

Most of them have finished their jail terms. Now they face another law, the Internal Security Act of 1950 (McCarran Act). It says that "Communist-action organizations" controlled by a foreign government must "register." Under the Internal Security Act the leaders of the U.S. Communist Party must report the following information to the U.S. government:

1. Names of all members of the U.S. Communist Party.
2. Where the Party's money comes from – including that part which comes from Soviet Russia or foreign sources.
3. What the Party does with its money.

UPI PHOTO

Two top U.S. Communist leaders, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn (left) and Henry Winston (second from left), at 1961 Communist Party Congress in Russia.

Under this law a Subversive Activities Board was appointed. It held hearings, and decided that the U.S. Communist Party was a "Communist-action" group controlled from abroad (by Soviet Russia). Then the Party was ordered to register.

Lawyers for the Communist Party fought against the law in the courts. But in the summer of 1961 the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that the registration part of the law was constitutional. The Party refused to register. In December, 1961, a Federal grand jury indicted (charged) the Party with a crime for not registering.

Under this indictment the Party could be fined up to $120,000. The Party might have a hard time raising this amount. Many people think the Party would be put out of business by this and future fines, for the penalties are piling up every day.

Under the law, these penalties could be fines of as much as $10,000 a day against the Party for every day that it fails

UPI PHOTO

U.S. Communists try to make people believe they are patriotic Americans; posters show Communists who died fighting in U.S. Army in World War II.

to register; also a $10,000 fine and up to five years in jail for each day that the Party officers do not register; and, for each member, a $10,000 fine and five years in jail for each day that he does not register. On this basis, U.S. Communists already owe the government billions of dollars!

The Party is continuing its fight in the courts against the Internal Security Act. The Supreme Court has not yet ruled on some important parts of this law, and no one knows how the decisions will go. The Court will no doubt have these twin problems in mind as it studies the cases:

1. Dare we let the Communists use our American liberties — freedom of speech, of the press, and the rest — for the purpose of destroying those very liberties?

2. On the other hand, how far can we limit the Communists' liberties without reducing the liberties of all Americans?

In the next and final chapter, we'll take a closer look at our American liberties and their meaning.

Chapter Thirteen STUDY AIDS

Questions to Think About

1. What rights and liberties do Communists enjoy in the United States?
2. What explains the fact that many thousands of Americans followed communism during the 1930's and World War II? Why did many of these people change their minds later?
3. What powers does the United States government have to control the Communist Party? How effective have these controls proved to be?

Words and Terms to Understand

depression, FBI, fellow traveler, *Daily Worker*, Taft-Hartley Act, Smith Act, McCarran Act

Check Your Reading

1. What role did American labor unions play in keeping workers from becoming Communists?
2. What evidence is there that the Communist Party in the United States is controlled by Soviet Russia?
3. What are the main provisions of the Smith Act?
4. About how many Communists are there at present in the United States?
5. Why do some people favor outlawing the Communist Party in the United States? Why do others oppose it?

America's Shield of Freedom

14

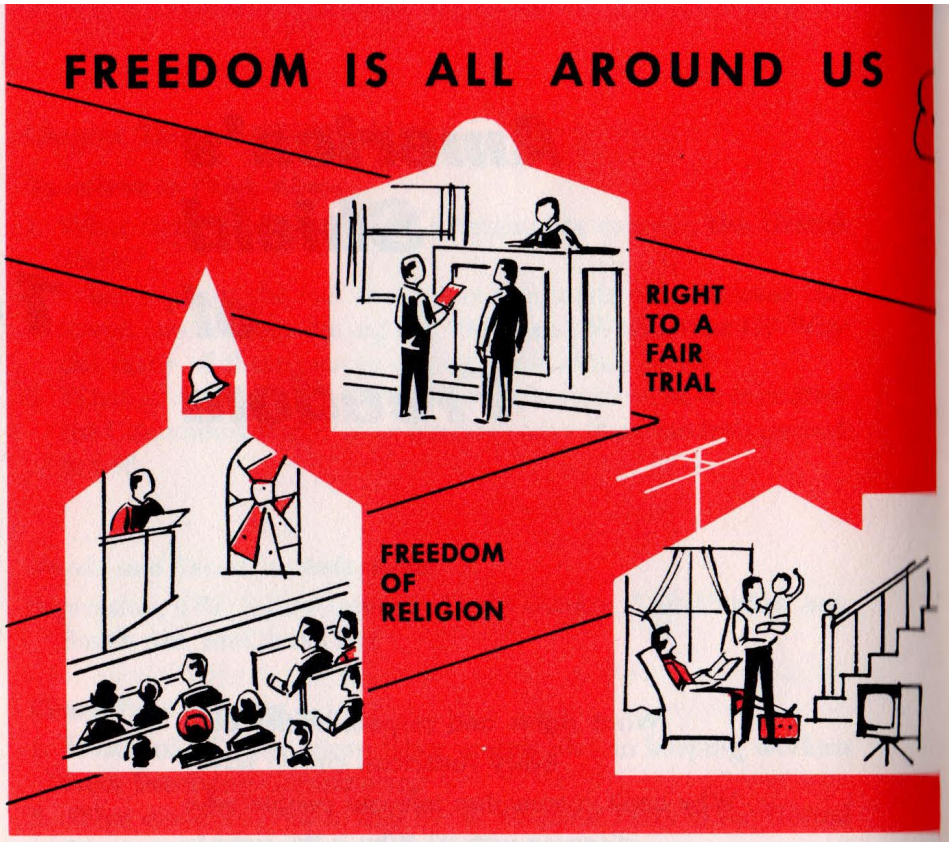
What rights and responsibilities does every American citizen have? Why can't communism tolerate people who disagree with it? Why is the right to disagree an important American freedom?

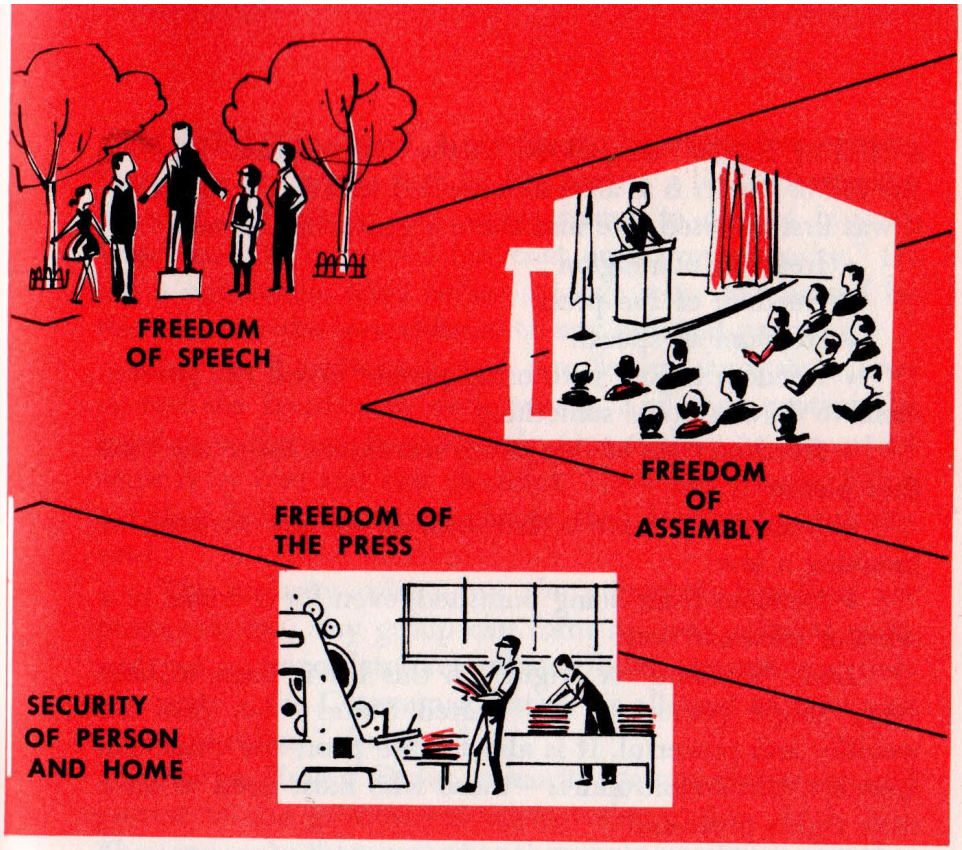
■ Communism has grown strong in industry, powerful in arms and weapons. Communist rule has spread across much of Asia and Europe and threatens to engulf other nations.

We have seen how people under communism have lost the power to control their government. We have seen how the Communists try to control the people's minds by limiting their right to read and discuss ideas.

Now, in the final chapter of this book, let us compare the loss of human dignity under communism with our own heritage of freedom.

One freedom that communism can never allow is freedom to disagree with communism itself. To Americans, the





freedom to disagree, to think for oneself, is one of the most basic freedoms of all.

In the United States, one of those who disagreed was a certain poor boy from a Midwestern state. As a young man, he believed in socialism. He was against our American business system. He wrote poetry that shocked many people – all about stockyards and other things that, people said, weren't fit subjects for poetry. Suppose that young rebel had lived in a Communist country and had argued against communism. What would have happened to him? At best, he'd be an outcast. He'd be lucky to stay out of jail.

But in the U.S. a man can speak his mind. The United States gave that young Midwesterner a chance to study and grow and say what he wanted to – in public. Today he's

one of our most honored writers – Carl Sandburg.

Freedom is freedom of choice and freedom to disagree with what most people believe in.

Where Does Freedom Come From?

Our American freedoms didn't just happen. To win some of them we had to fight Britain in the Revolutionary War. After that war many people believed there were other rights to win. The Constitution had just been written, and the states were being asked to approve it. Some patriots, such as Patrick Henry, thought the Constitution did not go far enough to protect the rights of ordinary people from interference by the government.

Because of these protests by Patrick Henry and others,

a "Bill of Rights" was added to the Constitution. Most of the Bill of Rights is as alive and needed today as it was when it was first adopted. We find there a guarantee of our

- freedom of religion
- freedom of the press
- freedom of speech
- freedom to join with other people to ask the government to do or change something
- freedom from having police search our house any time they please
- freedom to have a fair trial if we are accused of breaking a law
- freedom from being punished, even for a crime, in a cruel or inhuman way.

Each "freedom" or "right" on this list is there to help every single person in the United States – not just the wealthy and powerful. It is also for the poor, the weak, the ignorant, the downtrodden – those who most need to have their rights protected.

We say that ours is a "government of laws, not of men." This means that our rights and freedoms do not change with changing leaders. Our Constitution and laws guarantee our freedoms against interference from good leaders or bad ones.

We can see what this means if we compare our government with that of a Communist country. Communist leaders can change or disregard a law whenever they feel like it. Who would dare to object? The Communist secret police can arrest a man if they hear a rumor that he opposes the government. The prisoner may disappear and never be heard from again. His trial – if there is one – is before Communist judges. The judges would be fired if they displeased Communist Party leaders.

But in the United States, the police can't arrest someone just because they take a notion to. The laws say exactly

what actions are crimes. A person can be arrested only when the police are pretty sure he has broken a law. After being arrested, the person has every chance to defend himself. Every man is "presumed innocent until proved guilty." He has a right to be tried before a judge who isn't bossed by the police or the government or any political party.

So the Constitution and our federal and state laws protect the freedom of each person. And they protect the freedom of the people as a whole. One of the most important ways is by free and fair elections. There the people, filling out their ballots in secret, choose their leaders by majority vote.

The majority rules – but the minority's freedoms are protected, too. Any group can form its own political party and put up candidates for office. Under communism, only one party – the Communist Party – is allowed to take part in the so-called "elections."

In the United States, minority groups can meet and protest to the government against things they don't like. They can make their protest to the whole country in speeches and articles. They can ask a court to protect them if they feel their rights are being violated.

Of course you can't push a good thing too far. Freedom has its limits. You have no right, for example, to harm people deliberately. You can't use your "freedom of speech" to shout "Fire!" in a crowded room. You could start a panic and people could be hurt. So freedom has duties too, including the duty to remember other people's rights.

Let us defend our rights, protect the rights of our fellow citizens, and keep our nation strong. Then our liberties will be secure and America will be impregnable to communism.

Chapter Fourteen STUDY AIDS

Questions to Think About

1. What are the basic freedoms guaranteed every citizen of the United States?
2. Why do Communists fear to hold free elections?
3. What limitations does our Constitution place on the power of the majority to impose its will on the minority?
4. What are our duties as United States citizens?

Words and Terms to Understand

Bill of Rights, security of person, presumed innocent until proved guilty

Check Your Reading

1. What is the purpose of the Bill of Rights?
2. What is meant by "government of laws, not of men"?
3. How does our form of government insure that the majority rules and that the minority's freedoms are protected?
4. Why are some limits necessary on the freedom of people to do as they please?

A Chronology of Communism

1848	Marx and Engels publish *The Communist Manifesto*
1864	Marx helps organize the International Federation of Workingmen ("First International")
1867	Marx publishes Volume I of *Das Kapital* (*Capital*)
1889	Followers of Marx organize the "Second International"
1903	Russian Social Democratic Party split into two groups: the Bolsheviks (led by Lenin) and the Mensheviks
1914-1917	Russia suffers heavy defeat in World War I
1917	Tsar Nicholas II of Russia gives up his throne
1917	Bolsheviks seize control of Russia's capital
1918-1920	Civil war in Russia between the Communists and groups opposed to communism
1919	Lenin sets up the Comintern ("Third International")
1919	U.S. Communist Party organized
1921	Lenin starts the New Economic Policy (NEP)
1921	Chinese Communist Party organized
1922	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics set up
1924	Death of Lenin
1927	Chiang Kai-shek expels Russian advisers from China and orders Kuomintang army to crush the Chinese Communists
1928	First Five-Year Plan and collectivization starts
1933	United States recognizes Soviet Russia's Communist regime
1934-1936	"Long March" of Chinese Communists to north China
1935-1939	Stalin's "Great Purge" (hundreds of thousands of people suspected of opposing Stalin were killed or jailed)
1939	Soviet Russia and Germany sign nonaggression pact
1939	World War II started with Germany's attack on Poland
1939-1940	Soviet Russia takes over parts of Poland and Finland, also Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, and northern Romania
1941	Nazi Germany invades Soviet Russia
1942-1943	Soviet Russia's armies defeat Germans at Stalingrad
1945	Yalta Conference (Stalin, Roosevelt, Churchill) in Russia
1946	Chinese Communists and Nationalists resume civil war
1947	Cominform (Communist Information Bureau) set up
1948	Tito-Stalin break (first split between Communist nations)
1949	Communists conquer China mainland
1949	Soviet Russia explodes its first atomic bomb
1950-1953	War in Korea
1953	Death of Stalin
1953	Revolt in East Germany crushed by Russian troops
1956	Hungarian revolution crushed by Russian soldiers
1957	Khrushchev removes from power his chief rivals in Russia
1961	Soviet Russia puts into orbit the world's first manned spaceship
1962	Famine in Communist China

Index

airlift, West Berlin, 69
Albania, 46, 63, 73
Alien Registration Act, 115
All-Russian Extraordinary Commission, 25
Argentina, Communist riots in, 82
Asia, Communist threat in, 58, 63-64, 81, 82-83, 119

Baltic states, 40, 41, 105
Baptists, in Russia, 94
Beria, Lavrenti, 76
Berlin, *see* East Berlin *and* West Berlin
Bill of Rights, 37, 121-122
Bolshevik Party, 20, 22-28
Bolshevik Revolution, 20, 22, 26, 49, 54, 113
Bolsheviks, 20
Brazil, Communist riots in, 82
Bulgaria, 46, 73

capitalism, 17, 18
Castro, Fidel, 82, 108
Chiang Kai-shek, 48-52, 54
China: Communist, 49-54, 57-64; Nationalist, 48-54, 58
Chinese Communist Party, 28, 49, 50, 54, 58-59
Churchill, Winston, 42, 43, 66
Cold War, 66-74, 83
collective farming, 33-34, 80, 91
Comintern, 28, 49, 113
communes, 59-60
communism: and education, 6, 35, 96-101; and freedom, 7, 13, 84, 104-110, 117, 119-123; and government, 7; and production, 13; and religion, 6, 11, 80, 93-94, 110-111; beliefs, 9, 11; coining of word, 16; controls, 6-7, 12-13, 66-67, 84, 104-110, 119; defense against, cost of, 5-6; spread of, in Europe, 40-46; reasons for study of, 110-111
Communist expansion, in Europe, 40-46; efforts to stop, 67-74
Communist China: aid to Albania, 63; and Laos, 58; and Nationalist China, 48-54; and South Vietnam, 58; and U.S.S.R., 49-52, 62-63; and Tibet, 57; and U.N., 58; and U.S., 58; army, 58; communes, 59-60; farming, 58-60; food shortage, 59; government controls, 58-62; industries, 60-62; Korean War, 58; Mao Tse-tung, 49-52, 54, 58, 62, 63; propaganda, 57
Communist Manifesto, 16
Communist Party: elections, 7, 11, 12, 123; first use of name, 23; in China, 28, 49, 50, 54, 58-59, 62, 63; in France, 69, 70; in Italy, 69, 70; in Russia, 12, 23, 36, 104; in U.S., 28, 112-117; leaders, 12; privileges of members, 12-13, 109; purges, 12-13, 36
Communist propaganda, 48-49, 52, 54, 57, 106-107, 112
Communist spies, 112, 114
Congress of Soviets, 23
Constituent Assembly, 23, 25
Constitution, U.S., 37, 121-123
Cuba, Soviet aid to, 82
Czechoslovakia, 46, 73

Daily Worker, 114
Das Kapital, 16-18
Debs, Eugene V., 113
Doctor Zhivago, 109

East Berlin, 82
East Germany, 46, 73, 74, 82
education, under communism, 6, 35, 96-101
Eisenhower, Dwight D., 72
Engels, Friedrich, 16
Estonia, 40, 41, 105

FBI, 112, 114
Finland, 40, 41
Five-Year Plans, 33, 36
Formosa (Taiwan), 54, 58
Foster, William Z., 112, 113
France: and Popular Front, 38; Communist Party in, 69, 70
Franco, Francisco, 38
freedom: and communism, 7, 13, 84, 104-110, 117, 119-123; in U.S., 7, 117, 119-123

Germany: Communist revolution in, 16, 28; East, 46, 73, 74, 82; Nazi, 37-42, 46, 114; West, 69, 72; West Berlin, 69, 82; World War I, 20; World War II, 40-41, 114
Ghana, Soviet aid to, 81-82
Gomulka, Wladyslaw, 79-80
Greece, Cold War in, 67
Guatemala, Communist riots in, 82
Guinea, Soviet aid to, 81-82
Gunther, John, 99

Henry, Patrick, 121-122
Hitler, Adolf, 37-42
Hungary, 28, 43-46, 73, 80-81, 103, 110

Iceland, 72
Indonesia, Soviet aid to, 81-82
Internal Security Act, 115, 117
International Federation of Workingmen, 18
Iron Curtain, 66-67, 110
Italy, Communist Party in, 69, 70

Japan, 50, 51, 52

Kerensky, Alexander, 20, 23
Khrushchev, Nikita: and U.S., 11; denounces Stalin, 36-37, 77-78; dictatorship, 77-84; peaceful coexistence policy, 81-83; promises to Russians, 91, 107; propaganda, 106-107; rise to power, 76-77
Komsomol, 103
Korean War, 58

labor camps, Soviet, 34, 78, 109
labor unions, U.S., 18, 113, 114-115
Laos, 58, 82-83
Latvia, 40, 41, 105
Lenin, Nikolai: death, 32, 33; denounces Stalin, 32-33; dictatorship, 22-28; early life, 18-19; man of action, 15; plots against Tsar, 20, 22
Lithuania, 40, 41, 105
Lutherans, in Russia, 94

McCarran Act, 115
Malenkov, Georgi, 76
Manchuria, 50, 52, 60
Mao Tse-tung, 49-52, 54, 58, 62, 63
Marshall, George C., 52, 69
Marshall Plan, 69-70
Marx, Karl, 15-18, 38, 93, 112-113
Marxism-Leninism, 15
Matsu, 58
Mensheviks, 20
Molotov, Vyacheslav, 76
Moslems, in Russia, 94

Nationalist China: and Communist China, 48-54; and U.S.S.R., 49-52, 54; and U.S., 48-49, 52, 54, 58; army, 49; Chiang Kai-shek, 48-52, 54; "fiery-wall campaign," 50; industries, 52; Japanese attack on, 51; "long march," 50; soviets, 50; Taiwan, 54, 58; war lords, 50, 51
NATO, 70, 72-73
Nazi Germany, 37-42, 46, 114
New Economic Policy, 27, 33
nonaggression pact, Nazi-Soviet, 40
nuclear testing, 83, 84

Octobrists, 103
orbital flights, Soviet, 83, 87, 105
Orthodox Church, Russian, 93-94

Pasternak, Boris, 109
People's Front, 46
Poland, 40, 41, 46, 79-80, 93, 110
Popular Front, 37-38

Quemoy, 58

radio, Communist control of, 6, 66-67, 106-107
Red Army, 25-26
religion, and communism, 6, 11, 80, 93-94, 110-111
Ribbentrop, Joachim von, 40

Roosevelt, Franklin D., 42, 43
Roman Catholics, 45, 80, 94
Romania, 40, 41, 46, 73
Russia, *see* Soviet Russia
Russian Orthodox Church, 93-94
Russian Social Democratic Party, 19, 20

Sandburg, Carl, 120-121
satellites, 46, 79-81
schools, Soviet, 96-101
secret police, Soviet, 19, 25, 36, 37, 78, 109, 122
"slicing baloney," *see* Communist expansion
Small Holders Party, 45-46
Smith Act, 115
socialism, 13, 16, 38
Socialist Party, 38, 112-113
South Vietnam, 58, 82-83
Soviet Russia: and Albania, 46, 63, 73; and China, 49-52, 54, 62-63; and Cuba, 82; and Germany, 37-42, 46, 73-74, 82, 114; and Hungary, 28, 43-46, 73, 80-81, 103, 110; and Poland, 40, 41, 46, 79-80, 93, 110; and Yugoslavia, 46, 73-74; arms production, 35-36, 87-88; Bolsheviks, 20, 22-28, 49, 54, 113; civil war, 25-26; clothing shortage, 88; Cold War, 66-74, 83; collective farming, 33-34, 91; collective leadership, 76; Communist Party, 12, 23, 36, 104; controls, 66-67, 84, 104-110; education, 35, 96-101; farming, 26-27, 33-34, 78-79, 90-91; Five-Year Plans, 33, 36; food shortage, 20, 27, 90-91, 107; free elections, 20, 23-24; housing, 92-93, 107; industrial production, 26, 35-36, 78, 83, 87-88, 105; invasions, 40-41; labor camps, 34, 78, 109; living standards, 79, 87-94, 107; nations aided by, 81-82; New Economic Policy, 27, 33; nonaggression pact, 40; population, 12; provisional government, 20, 23; punishment, 25, 34, 36, 37, 108-110, 122; religion, 93-94; satellites, 46, 63, 79-80, 82, 105, 110; secret police, 19, 25, 36, 37, 78, 109, 122; aid to, 27, 42; youth organizations, 101, 103; World War I, 20; World War II, 40-43, 114
Soviets, 50
Soviet Union, *see* Soviet Russia
Spain, and Popular Front, 38
Spanish Civil War, 38
Stalin, Joseph: and Tito, 73; and U.S. communism, 112, 114; death, 74, 76; denounced by Khrushchev, 36-37, 77-78; denounced by Lenin, 32-33; dictatorship, 32-46; tyrannical acts, 36-37, 76, 78, 109-110
Subversive Activities Board, 116
Sun Yat-sen, 49

Taft-Hartley labor law, 115
Taiwan (Formosa), 54, 58
Third International, 28
Tibet, 57
Tito, Marshal, 73
Trotsky, Leon, 25, 32, 33
Tsar Alexander III, 18, 19
Tsar Nicholas II, 20, 24
Truman Doctrine, 67
Turkey, and Cold War, 67
Twilight of Capitalism, The, 112

Ulyanov, Alexander, 19
Ulyanov, Vladimir, *see* Lenin
United Nations, 58
United States: and Cold War, 67, 69; and Communist China, 58; and Nationalist China, 48-49, 52, 54, 58; Communist Party in, 28, 112-117; freedoms, 7, 117, 119-123; U.S.S.R. aided by, 27, 42
U.S.S.R., *see* Soviet Russia

Venezuela, Communist riots in, 82
"Voice of America," 107

Warsaw Pact, 63, 73
West Berlin, 69, 82
West Germany, 69, 72
White Russians, 25-26
World War I, 20
World War II, 40-42, 114

Yalta Conference, 42
youth organizations, Soviet, 101, 103
Yugoslavia, 46, 73-74

WHAT YOU SHOULD KNOW ABOUT COMMUNISM AND WHY

JUNIOR EDITION

Prepared by the Editors of **Scholastic Magazines.** Adapted by Matthew Mestrovic, Ph.D.
Illustrated with photographs, line drawings, and charts

What is communism? It is several things, all at once: a belief, a political party, a form of government, a way of producing things, a way of life. Why do Communists believe they will conquer the world? How do they advance their cause? To understand the disturbing questions communism poses, boys and girls need the basic information which this book gives in a clear and interesting way.

In WHAT YOU SHOULD KNOW ABOUT COMMUNISM AND WHY, boys and

(continued on back flap)

"It is most urgent that American schools tackle in earnest the task of teaching our youth about communism—totalitarianism in its toughest, most militant form—with the facts and values of our American heritage."

—*John F. Kennedy*
President of the United States

"Competition for men's minds begins when they are students. This is when they must be taught to discern between the American form of government and the Soviet form."

—*Dwight D. Eisenhower*
Former President of the United States

"Our schools represent a most important force in the struggle against communism. The task of education in this nation—that of developing and encouraging the spirit of inquiry and freedom of thought—is vital in exposing the fallacy of Marxism-Leninism. Every student should be able to contrast the principles of our democracy with the grim reality of Communist states."

—*J. Edgar Hoover*
Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation

girls will learn how communism began, how it spread, how the Communists gained control of Russia and neighboring nations. They will find out, too, what the Free World is doing to meet this challenge. Most of all, they wil learn how they can help preserve freedom against the threat of communism.

The Communist system, or Marxism-Leninism, is traced from the number one "idea man," Karl Marx, and the "man of action," Lenin, through Stalin's reign of terror and Khrushchev's rule. The development of communism in China and the beginning of the Cold War are described in detail. How Communists train the minds of youth, how they stay in control, as well as what we did under the Marshall Plan and are doing with NATO, are covered in clear and precise fashion. Included, too, is a glimpse of life inside Soviet Russia today. Finally, a very important section at the end of the book discusses communism in the United States and the role of freedom in the world today.

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